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A HISTORICAL COMMENTARY ON DIO 69

by



JOANN FREED

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and
recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for
acceptance, a thesis entitled

A HISTORICAL COMMENTARY ON DIO 69

submitted by Joann Freed in partial fulfilment of the require-
ments for the degree of Master of Arts.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations of journal and collection titles generally follow those listed in the Oxford Classical Dictionary² (1970). Important books cited by abbreviated titles are listed below.

<u>Lettres Latines</u>	Henry Bardon, <u>Les Empereurs et les lettres Latines</u> , (Paris 1968)
<u>Religion Romaine</u>	J. Beaujeu, <u>La Religion romaine à l'apogée de l'Empire I: la politique religieuse des Antonins (96-192)</u> (Paris 1955).
<u>Discoveries II</u>	P. Benoît, J.T. Milik, & R. de Vaux, <u>Discoveries in the Judaean Desert, 2 les grottes de Murabba'ât</u> , 2 vol. (Oxford 1961).
	A.R. Birley, <u>Marcus Aurelius</u> , (London [1966]).
<u>Roman Britain</u>	Eric Birley, <u>Roman Britain and the Roman Army</u> , (Kendal 1961).
<u>Dio III</u>	U.P. Boissevain, ed., <u>Cassi Dionis Cocceiani Historiarum romanarum quae supersunt</u> , vol. III, (Berlin 1955).
<u>Greek Sophists</u>	G.W. Bowersock, <u>Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire</u> , (Oxford 1969).
<u>Dio VIII</u>	Ernest Cary, <u>Dio's Roman History</u> , Vol. VIII, (London, 1930).
<u>Consilium Principis</u>	John Crook, <u>Consilium Principis: Imperial Councils and Counsellors from Augustus to Diocletian</u> , (Cambridge, 1955).
<u>Economic History</u>	John Day, <u>An Economic History of Athens under Roman Domination</u> , (New York 1942).
Degrassi	Attilio Degrassi, <u>I fasti consolari dell'Impero Romano dal 30 avanti Cristo al 613 dopo Cristo</u> , (Rome 1952).
<u>History of Antioch</u>	Glanville Downey, <u>A History of Antioch in Syria from Seleucus to the Arab Conquest</u> , (Princeton 1961).

<u>ERE</u>	A. Piganiol, et al., <u>Les Empereurs Romaines d'Espagne</u> , (Paris 1965).
<u>Athènes sous H.</u>	Paul Graindor, <u>Athènes sous Hadrien</u> , (Cairo 1934).
<u>Archontes Athéniens</u>	Paul Graindor, <u>Chronologie des Archontes Athéniens sous L'Empire</u> , (Brussels 1922).
<u>Life of Hadrian</u>	W.D. Gray, <u>A Study of the Life of Hadrian Prior to His Accession</u> , (Smith College Studies in History IV [1919]).
<u>PIR</u> ²	<u>Prosopographia Imperii Romani</u> , editio altera, ed. Groag, Stein, et al., (Berlin 1933).
<u>Life and Principate</u>	B.W. Henderson, <u>The Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian: 76-138 A.D.</u> , (London 1923).
<u>Eleusis</u>	C. Kerényi, <u>Eleusis: Archetypal Image of Mother and Daughter</u> , tr. by R. Manheim, (London 1967).
<u>Dating and Meaning</u>	Arie Kindler, in <u>The Dating and Meaning of Ancient Jewish Coins and Symbols</u> (Jerusalem 1958).
<u>Equestrian Officials</u>	R.H. Lacey, <u>The Equestrian Officials of Trajan and Hadrian: Their Careers with Some Notes on Hadrian's Reforms</u> , (Princeton 1917).
<u>RRAM</u>	D. Magie, <u>Roman Rule in Asia Minor to the End of the Third Century after Christ</u> (Princeton 1950).
<u>BMC III</u>	Harold Mattingly, ed., <u>Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum, Vol. III Nerva to Hadrian</u> (London 1965-[1966]).
<u>REN</u>	Fergus Millar et al., <u>The Roman Empire and its Neighbors</u> , (New York 1967).
<u>Cassius Dio</u>	Fergus Millar, <u>A Study of Cassius Dio</u> (Oxford 1964).
<u>Ruling Power</u>	J.H. Oliver, <u>The Ruling Power: A Study of the Roman Empire in the Second Century after Christ through the Roman Oration of Aelius Aristides</u> <u>TAPhA</u> N.S. 43.4 (Phila. 1953).

- L'Empereur Hadrien Bernard D'Orgeval, L'Empereur Hadrien: Oeuvre législative et administrative, (Paris 1950)
- Essays H.F. Pelham, Essays on Roman History, ed. F. Haverfield, (Oxford 1911).
- Essai Louis Perret, Essai sur la Carrière d'Hadrien jusqu'a son avènement a l'empire (76-177), Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France, vol. 79, (Paris 1935)
- Titulature Louis Perret, La titulature impériale d'Hadrien, (Paris 1929).
- SEHRE² M. Rostovtseff, Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire, 2nd ed., ed P.M. Fraser, (Oxford 1957).
- Smallwood E. Mary Smallwood, Documents Illustrating the Principates of Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian, (Cambridge 1966).
- Präfekten von Ägypten " A. Stein, Die Präfekten von Ägypten in der Römischen Kaiserzeit, (Berne 1950).
- Strack Paul L. Strack, Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung des Zweiten Jahrhunderts, Vol. II Die Röm. Reichsprägung zur Zeit Hadrians, (Stuttgart 1933).
- Weber Wilhelm Weber, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus, (Leipzig 1907)
- RIA Graham Webster, The Roman Imperial Army of the First and Second Centuries A.D., (London [1969]).

Introduction

The purpose of this thesis is to elucidate what remains of Cassius Dio on the life of Hadrian in the epitome of Book 69 of Dio's Histories. The last 45 books of the Histories, which include Dio 69, was epitomized by Johannes Xiphilinus, a Byzantine monk, in the eleventh century. Xiphilinus did not rewrite Dio's work in a shorter form; he merely selected material from Dio's text. A later epitome, that of Zonaras, simply repeats Xiphilinus from Book 68 on. Proof that Xiphilinus' changes in Dio's text were only extremely superficial are first person statements of Dio which stand untouched (in Book 69; 1.3, πατήρ μου Ἀπρωνιανός; 11.2, ἦν καὶ Κλαυδιούπολιν καλοῦμεν; 14.4, ὥσθ' ἡμεῖς). It is not surprising, then, that the information as it stands is more confusing than enlightening. I have studied other sources, including ancient texts, inscriptions and coins with the intent of ascertaining the historical facts which Dio's text treated. The work also shows that when Dio is understood in the light of the available information, he is generally a good and dependable source, with, however, some bias against his central subject, Hadrian.

Cassius Dio Cocceianus was born in Nicaea in Bithynia in about 164 A.D. and was of senatorial rank. He was consul twice, the second time consul ordinarius II with the Emperor Severus Alexander in 229. The writing of the greater part of his Histories preceded his rise to important posts under Severus Alexander. Of the eighty books of his Histories, which ranged from the foundation of Rome to his own second consulship, only books 36-54 survive complete, together with large portions of books 55-60. Of Book 69, which treats the reign of Hadrian, there is only an epitome, supplemented by excerpts.

In the tenth century, the Byzantine Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus commissioned a kind of encyclopedia, which was composed of excerpts from the classical historians, including Cassius Dio. Book 69 contributed some material to the compilation Περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας (Excerpta Valesiana, so-called because it was first edited by a H. de Valois in 1634). Of this material, 69.2.4; 69.11.4; 69.14.4; 69.23.4 supplement the text of Xiphilinus. Dio 69.15.1-2 come from the Περὶ πρεσβείων (Excerpta Ursiniana; first published by Orsini in 1582); the first of these two fragments on the diplomatic exchanges of the threatened war with the Alani also appears in Xiphilinus.

Book 69 recounts the reign of Hadrian, beginning with his accession (69.1) and ending with his death (69.23). The work seems more a biography than do any of the other imperial books of Dio's Histories. According to the Suda (s.v. Δίων ὁ Κασσιός) Dio wrote a biography of Hadrian. Whether this was actually a different work than the original form of Book 69 seems unlikely. Very little happens in Book 69 which Hadrian himself did not do (exceptions are 69.12-14, the Jewish War; 69.15, war with the Alani; 69.18-19, anecdotes about the praetorian prefects Turbo and Similis). Accounts of Hadrian's acts also depend heavily on anecdote (69.1.3-4; 69.3-4; 69.6-7; 69.8.3; 69.9.6; 69.10-11, 69.17; 69.22), much of which is not authentic (see individual notes). Hadrian's speech for the adoption of Antoninus is invented by Dio. This leaves the percentage of historical fact in the epitome at perhaps one-half, which is undoubtedly exaggerated by a tendency of Xiphilinus to cull items which would still be of interest in his own day. Furthermore, a guess based on the length of surviving complete books of Dio's

Histories would place the length of the present epitome of Book 69 at from a quarter to a third of the original.

Dio is the oldest narrative source for Hadrian's reign; writing in the first or second decade of the third century, he was separated from the events by a little less than one hundred years. The alternate major source on Hadrian is the first book of the Historia Augusta, which, however it be dated, was certainly compiled at least one hundred years after Dio's text. Despite its later date of composition the Historia Augusta on Hadrian provides more details on most points and is found almost always to be in basic agreement with Dio on subjects Dio mentions. The Historia Augusta is also free from Dio's bias against Hadrian--Dio generally interprets Hadrian's actions in an unfavorable light--probably he was influenced by the Senate's hatred of Hadrian at the end of his reign, and their refusal to deify him (69.2.5; 69.23.3). Therefore Dio made the most of every chance to discredit Hadrian (69.1.2-4; 69.3-4; 69.11; 69.17.2-4).

In the commentary which follows, each section is titled, headed by a summary of the text, and followed by any general information on the section as a whole. Then individual points in the text are discussed. Necessarily, I have had the secondary task of investigating the evidence on particular events and people. Where the correlation of facts implied the necessity of a new interpretation, I have offered this. I have relied most heavily on the ancient sources--texts, inscriptions and coins--but I have also read a great deal of secondary literature. Only what

is directly relevant to an understanding of Dio has been mentioned in the text or listed in the bibliography. I have not attempted an exhaustive collection of works on Hadrian, nor have I mentioned views to refute them.

Note on the Introduction

The introduction has purposely been kept as brief as possible, since most of the pertinent information is readily available elsewhere, particularly in Fergus Millar's A Study of Cassius Dio (Oxford, 1964): the state of the text, pp. 1-4; the life of Dio, pp. 5-27; Dio's treatment of Hadrian, pp. 60-72. In Trajan's Parthian War, pp. 2-5, F. Lepper gives a very clear brief history of the text. The definitive text is edited by U.P. Boissevain, Cassi Dionis Cocceiani Historiarum Romanorum Quae Supersunt; (Berlin, 1955). Book 69 is found in volume III, pp. 222-242. Unless I state a disagreement in the text, I have generally accepted the English translation of Earnest Cary, Dio's Roman History VIII, pp. 424-465, London, 1930, Loeb).

COMMENTARY

1.1-4 The Succession of Hadrian

Summary: Hadrian was not adopted by Trajan. However, he was closely tied to Trajan and his family. During the Parthian War, Hadrian was governor of Syria, but otherwise he had little special treatment during Trajan's reign. He became emperor through the machinations of Attianus, his guardian (and praetorian prefect), and Plotina, the wife of Trajan. Dio's father is his source for the account of Hadrian's accession.

Most of the information relative to the first section of this commentary has been studied exhaustively in two modern works, Gray, The Life of Hadrian Prior to his Accession, 1919; Perret, Essai sur la carrière d'Hadrien (76-117) in Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France, 1934.

1.1 οὐκ ἐσσεπολήθη "Hadrian was not adopted by Trajan" rather than Cary's "had not been" (Dio VIII, 425, Loeb). Dio's life of Hadrian opens with an attack, "an usually bold and polemical sentence" (Millar, Cassius Dio, 63). The adoption of Hadrian was irregular and surrounded by gossip. Dio reflects the hostile attitude of those who believed the worst: qui factione Plotinae mortuo iam Traiano Hadrianum in adoptionem adscitum esse prodiderint (H.A. Hadrian 4.10). The story of the adoption is found in H.A. Hadrian 4; Victor Caes. 13.11; Eutropius 8.6.1. According to the Vita (H.A. Hadrian (3)-4), Hadrian reasonably expected to be adopted because of his prominent supporters, including Licinius Sura (cf. Dio 68.15.3² for Sura's influence with Trajan) and Plotina, the wife of Trajan; also Sosius (Q. Sosius Senecio), a general famous

for his part in Trajan's Dacian wars (cf. Dio 68.16.2) and Papus (probably M. Aemilius Papus, cf. Pflaum, Klio 46 (1965) 331-337); Platorius Nepos, who later built Hadrian's Wall; Claudius Livianus, former praetorian prefect under Trajan; Q. Marcius Turbo, who later became Hadrian's praetorian prefect (see note, 69.18); and Attianus, praetorian prefect at the time of Hadrian's accession (see note, 69.1.2, p. 20). As governor of Syria while Trajan carried on his Parthian expedition, Hadrian learned of his adoption on August 9, 117 and of Trajan's death on the eleventh. The Vita recounts the rumors that Trajan did not wish to leave Hadrian as his successor in the following order: 1) Trajan intended Neratius Priscus, the prominent jurist, to succeed; 2) Trajan wished to die without a successor like Alexander (Dio of Prusa's Orations 2 and 4 reflect Trajan's interest in Alexander, while the Parthian campaign inevitably recalled Alexander's exploits); 3) Trajan had been intending to ask the Senate to choose a successor; 4) Plotina had managed Hadrian's succession by fraud (H.A. Hadrian 4.8-10). This last is the simple truth according to Dio; it appears as rumor in Eutropius and Aurelius Victor. The gossip seems to be reflected in Tacitus on Tiberius, for Tiberius' accession is attributed to the adoption of an old man and the intrigues of his wife (Tacitus, Ann. 1.7.8; cf. Strack, p. 42, n. 40; Syme, Tacitus, 481-2).

The adoption was officially attested by Hadrian's first coin issue, including a coin with reverse ADOPTIO (BMC III, p. 237, no. 5), a legend which appears at no other time in Roman coinage. A similar coin was

evidently struck in Antioch (BMC III, p. 372, no. 1021). The earliest issue of coins for Hadrian gives him Trajan's titles Optimus Germanicus Dacicus and names Hadrian son of Parthicus Divus Traianus. Trajan's titles, which were unearned, were immediately dropped and this very securely dates the earliest issue to c. September 117 (cf. Strack, 3). Reverses of the same issue propagate Concordia, Fortuna Redux, Iustitia, Pax and Pietas (BMC III, pp. 237-238, nos. 9-16). A more problematic coin is one of Trajan with Hadrian as Caesar (BMC III, p. 124*) which must have been ordered in the two days between the announcement to Hadrian of his adoption and of Trajan's death (cf. Mattingly, BMC III, xxiii and cxiv). There is no extant account of an earlier adoption of Hadrian.

A good deal of modern literature treats Hadrian's adoption. Much of this is concerned with the legal form of imperial adoption (cf. Hammond, Antonine Monarchy, 1-24 and a bibliography of works which treat Hadrian's accession, n. 2). A more relevant question is whether Hadrian was Trajan's intended heir. Many arguments favor Hadrian (see following notes); few are against him save the lack of unambiguous evidence for the actual act of adoption.

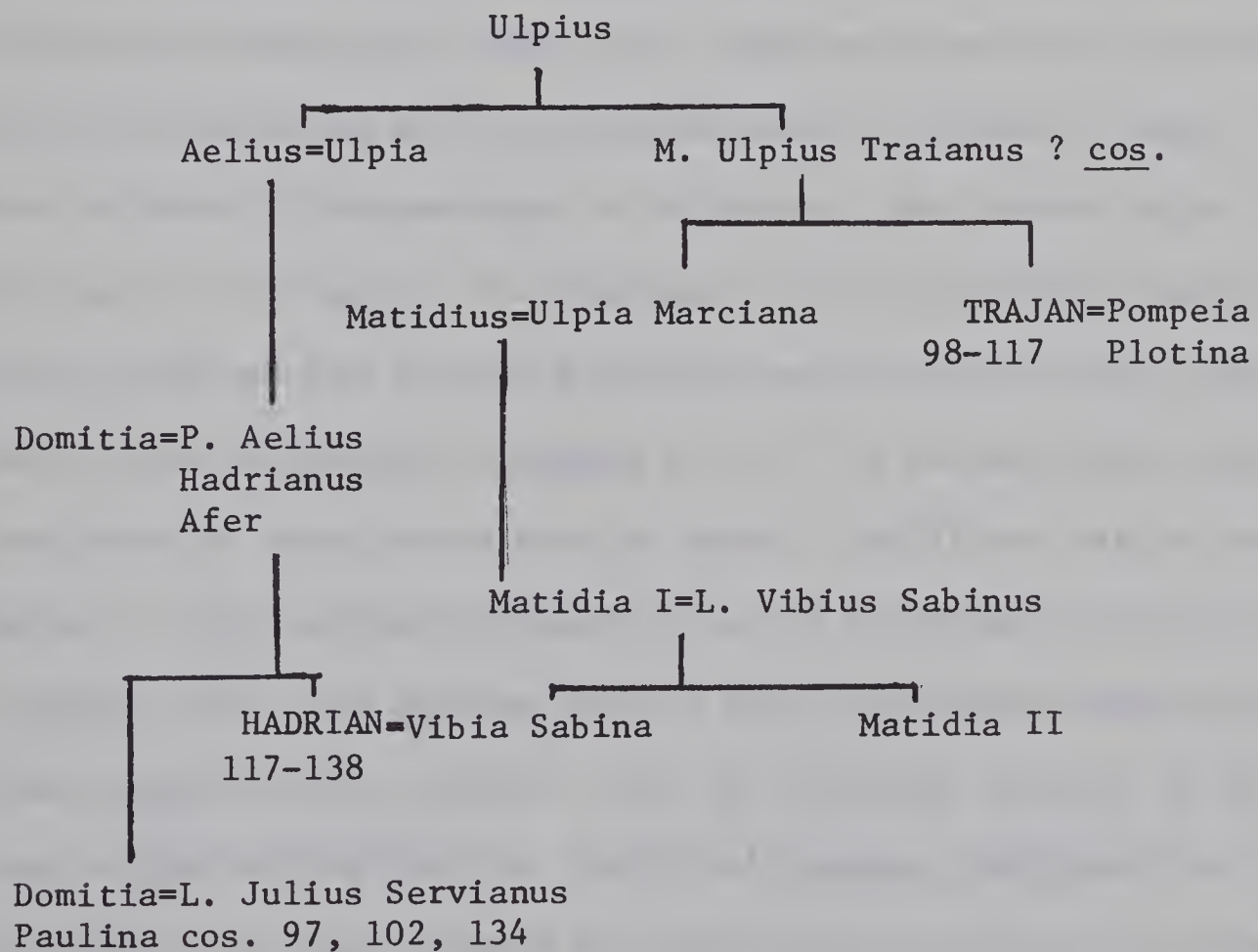
1.1 πολίτης αὐτοῦ Hadrian was a "fellow-citizen of Trajan's city." Dio does not name Italica as the birthplace of either Trajan or Hadrian; he does call Trajan a Spaniard (68.4.1). Other sources state that Hadrian's origo was Italica in Spain (Gellius, NA 16.13.4; Appian, Iberica 38 and Victor, Caes. 13.11). The tribe name Sergia (cf. ILS 308, Athens)

also supports a Spanish origo. Evidence on Hadrian's actual birthplace is conflicting. He was born in Rome according to the Vita (natus Romae, H.A. Hadrian 1.3), in Italica according to Eutropius (natus Italicae, 8.6.1). His horoscope (cf. Cramer, Astrology in Roman Law and Politics, 163, n.121b) also indicates that he was born in Spain. The Vita, which is generally the favored source, seems to imply that Hadrian was brought up away from Rome (his accent as a young man was agrestius, H.A. Hadrian 3.1; also patria sua in 19.1 could not mean Rome). Hadrian's father held the praetorship (cf. Dio 69.2.1) and died when Hadrian was ten years old (H.A. Hadrian 1.4). If he died at forty (cf. a letter to Antoninus (Alexander, HSCPh 49 (1938), 170, and notes 1 and 2), he was probably praetor and in Rome at thirty, allowing for Hadrian's birth there. Confer Syme, JRS 54 (1964) 142, who also argues that Hadrian was born in Rome.

1.1 ἐπετροπέυθη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ The Vita adds a few details on Hadrian's early life (H.A. Hadrian 1.3-2.2). For a modern study, see Syme, JRS 54 (1964) 142-144. Trajan and Acilius Attianus (see note, 69.1.2, p. 20) acted as Hadrian's guardians after his father's death when Hadrian was ten years old, c. 86. Although Trajan was busy with his own career and was holding the praetorship in that year, he was probably concerned with his ward's education, which was largely in Greek studies. At fifteen Hadrian was sent off to Italica (ad patria) where he took part in some kind of military training, probably in the local collegium iuvenum (cf. Stein, PIR² A 184). Hadrian became over enthusiastic about hunting and was brought away by Trajan et pro filio habitus (H.A. Hadrian 2.2). From

this point at the latest, therefore, Hadrian was a member of Trajan's household.

1.1 γένους θ'οὐ ἐκoinώνει The accompanying family tree shows the probable relationship of Trajan's family with Hadrian's family. He was Trajan's closest living male relative, tied even closer to Trajan's line by his marriage with Vibia Sabina, dated c. 100 (see following note). The third oration of Dio of Prusa, delivered c. 104, praises the natural love of a good king for his family (Or. III, 119), and this must reflect Trajan's attitude. Trajan was generous with honors to his family. His



Derived from Syme, Tacitus 792-793

sister Marciana was granted the title Augusta in 112; after her death the title was also held by her daughter Matidia (cf. BMC III, p. 108, no. 531, BMC III, p. 231, no. 1088). Trajan also had his father consecrated (BMC III, pp. 100-101, nos. 498-508). Therefore, merely belonging to Trajan's family placed Hadrian in a very prominent position.

1.1 ἀδελφιδῆν Vibia Sabina was actually Trajan's grandniece rather than his niece, the daughter of his sister Marciana's daughter Matidia (see above note). The marriage was favored by Plotina, but not by Trajan (H.A. Hadrian 2.10). Because the early part of the Vita seems to have chronological coherence, scholars have dated the marriage to c. 100, when Hadrian was twenty-four years old. Hadrian's position in the imperial family was therefore well-established early in Trajan's reign. Little more is known of the marriage or of Sabina. The sources agree that the marriage was not happy. The dismissal of the praetorian prefect Septicius Clarus and his protege Suetonius was related to their over-familiarity with Sabina (H.A. Hadrian 11.3). The rather oddly worded story may hide an abortive attempt to gather a political circle around the Empress. This incident evidently occurred in Britain in 122 (cf. Syme, Tacitus, 799), and perhaps implies that the Empress Sabina accompanied her husband on his travels. She was certainly present on his Nile tour in the fall of 130 (cf. Balbilla's verses, Smallwood no. 75). Hadrian used to say that he would have divorced his wife on the grounds of her unpleasant temperament (ut morosa et aspera) if he had been a private citizen (H.A. Hadrian 11.3). Her own status was more relevant, for his marriage to her had strengthened his tie to Trajan, and she was

independently the daughter and granddaughter of Augustae. Nevertheless, as far as is known, she exerted no influence on Hadrian or on his reign. It is relevant that her sister Matidia II is only known from inscriptions from the reign of Antoninus (cf. CIL III 5807). Hadrian and Sabina had no children; a late source says this was by Sabina's wish (Epit. 14.8), confirming the tradition of discord between husband and wife. She did not receive the title Augusta and the right to issue coins until 128 (Mattingly, BMC III, xxiv; her coin issues are appropriate but conservative; reverses include dedications to Concord, Juno Regina and Venus). The Epitome (14.8) claims Hadrian compelled her to commit suicide, while the Vita states that Hadrian poisoned her (H.A. Hadrian 23.9). However, her death occurred late in Hadrian's reign, probably in 136 (Strack, 36, on coin evidence from Alexandria). She was consecrated after her death (BMC III, p. 362, no. 955).

1.1 συνῆν αὐτῷ The chronology of the career of Publius Aelius Hadrianus up to Trajan's death follows:

Emp.	Year	Trajan's Activities	H.'s Age	Hadrian's Career
Domitian	86	praetor in Rome (H.A.)	10	ward of Trajan & Attianus (H.A.)
	91	<u>consul ordinarius</u>	15	<u>militia</u> in Italica (H.A.) <u>=collegium iuvenum</u>
	(92)		(16)	<u>pro filio habitus</u> (H.A.)
	(93)		(17)	<u>Xvir stlitibus iudicandis</u>
	94		18	<u>praefectus feriarum Latinarum</u> (4-day honor, May/June)

Emp.	Year	Trajan's Activities	H.'s Age	Hadrian's Career
Nerva				<u>sevir turmae equitum</u> (<u>pompa</u> , July 15)
	(95)		(19)	<u>mil. trib. II Adiutrix Pannonia Inferior</u> (A.)
	96		20	<u>mil. trib. V Macedonica Moesia Inferior</u> (A.)
	97	proconsular command of both Germanies adopted by Nerva, Oct. 27	21	transferred to Germania Superior at Trajan's adoption (H.A.) <u>mil. trib. XXII Primigenia</u> (A.)
	98	becomes Emperor, Jan. 25, organization in Germania Inferior	22	
	99	returns to Rome		
	(100)	legislative activity	24	marriage to Vibia Sabina (H.A.)
	101	leaves Rome March 25 for first Dacian War	25	<u>quaestor Augusti</u> (A.) (H.A.) <u>comes expeditionis Dacicae</u> (A.) received <u>dona militaria</u> twice (A.)
	102	Dacian triumph	26	<u>ab actis senatus</u> (?) (H.A.)
	103	builds port of Centumcellae		
Trajan	104	in Moesia	28	<u>tribunus plebis</u> in December
	105	leaves Rome June 5 for Second Dacian War	29	<u>tribunus plebis</u> (A.) accompanies Trajan as legate of <u>I Minervia</u>
	106	death of Decebalus Second Dacian War ends	(30)	[<u>praetor</u>] (?) (A.) received money for games from Trajan (H.A.)
	107	Dacian triumph and games for 123 days	31	[<u>praetor</u>] (?) (A.) <u>legatus Augusti pro praetore Pannonia Inferioris</u>

Emp.	Year	Trajan's Activities	H.'s Age	Hadrian's Career
Trajan	108	gladiatorial shows	32	suffect consul (A.) May-July
	between 108 & 111			<u>septemvir epulonum</u> (A.) <u>sodalis Augustalis</u> (A.) speech writer for Trajan (H.A.)
	111		35	archon at Athens (A.) from June 25
	112	builds Forum Traianum Basilica Ulpia	36	archon at Athens to June 24
	113	dedication of Trajan's Column; leaves Rome for Parthian War, October	37	accompanies Trajan to east
	114	occupies Armenia; named <u>optimus princeps</u> ; takes Nisibis	38	<u>legatus Suriae</u> (H.A. & Dio)
	115	consolidates territory captured in Mesopotamia; earthquake at Antioch in December.		"
	116	conquers Adiabene & Ctesiphon; revolt in conquered territory suppressed; besieges Hatra unsuccessfully (Dio)		"
	117	Dies August 9, 117 (H.A.)	41	<u>consul designatus</u> II (H.A.) dies imperii, August 11 (Smallwood no. 117 Tibur)

Sources: A. = ILS 308 Athens=Smallwood no. 109
H.A. = H.A. Hadrian 1-3

For Trajan, 97-113, BMC III, lii-liii
113-117, Lepper, Trajan's Parthian War

The basic sources for Hadrian's early career are the Athenian inscription of Hadrian's archonship in 111/112, Smallwood no. 109, and H.A. Hadrian 1-3. Exhaustive studies of this period of Hadrian's life have been made by Gray, Life of Hadrian Prior to his Accession and especially Perret, Essai sur la Carrière d'Hadrien, also cf. PIR² A 184. Hadrian's career is extremely crowded, with many irregularities, many of which definitely indicate Trajan's favor. The post of praefectus feriarum Latinarum, which he held at about eighteen under Domitian, was an honor ordinarily reserved for patrician families and must have indicated Domitian's favor to Trajan (cf. Syme, JRS 54 (1964) 143). Hadrian's transfer to Germania Superior at the time of Trajan's adoption by Nerva shows how closely his career was linked to Trajan's (H.A. Hadrian 2.5). The Vita tells a story, probably apocryphal, of how Hadrian was held up by his brother-in-law Servianus when he wished to be first to tell Trajan of Nerva's death (H.A. Hadrian 2.6). Probably Hadrian stayed in Germany until Trajan's return from there to Rome in 99. In 100 Hadrian was married to Trajan's great-niece Vibia Sabina, a marriage which essentially determined his career. He was quaestor Augusti in 101, that is, he was appointed by Trajan and acted as a go-between for the Emperor and the Senate. In this year the first Dacian war broke out, and Hadrian accompanied Trajan to the war as a comes. The Vita states that Hadrian acted as ab actis senatus before the war (H.A. Hadrian 3.2), but this seems chronologically impossible. As the war ended in 102, the post may belong to the years 103 or 104 (cf. Gray, Life of Hadrian, 173; Perret, Essai 84). It was probably useful to Trajan, absent from Rome in these years, to have his closest relative hold the post, for it in-

volved keeping a record of Senate proceedings.

From 105 to 108, the chronology of Hadrian's career is very difficult. In 105, Hadrian, twenty-nine years old and still a plebeian, held the post of tribunus plebis, a magistracy normally held at twenty-six or -seven. In the years 106 and 107 he held a praetorian legateship, the post of praetor, and was governor of Pannonia Inferior. He must have held the last post by summer of 107, for he was designated consul for the summer of 108 on the basis of his record in Pannonia. This career seems ridiculously crowded, but several adjustments can be made. The praetorian legateship (of the I Minervia) must have interrupted Hadrian's tribunate in 105, for Trajan left for the Dacian War in June, and the Vita states that he took Hadrian with him (H.A. Hadrian 3.6). Ordinarily a tribunicus vir did not hold a praetorian legateship before being praetor, but a few special instances did exist (cf. Perret, Essai, 87). At the end of the war Hadrian returned to Rome and held an abbreviated praetorship, perhaps for only a few months in early 107. (Alternatively, since magistracies were ordinarily held at two-year intervals (occasionally as short as one year and four weeks) and this would be impossible in Hadrian's case, Hadrian may have been adlected inter praetorios in late 106 or early 107.) In the summer of 107 Trajan held lengthy gladiatorial shows to celebrate his Dacian triumph, and Hadrian received a large sum from him to put on games. Following the games, Hadrian resigned the praetorship to accept the post of legatus of Pannonia Inferior. This was no sinecure, as Hadrian may have been the first governor of the newly divided province (cf. Perret, Essai, 97).

He waged war against the Sarmatians, tightened military discipline and asserted control over the procurators (H.A. Hadrian 3.9). He returned to hold the suffect consulship in May-July of 108 (cf. Degraasi, 32). Between 108 and 110 both Trajan and Hadrian were in Rome. Besides fulfilling his Senate duties, Hadrian maintained his close relation to Trajan by composing the Emperor's speeches (H.A. Hadrian 3.11).

Wherever we have evidence for the relations of Trajan and Hadrian it is clear they worked harmoniously together, although the rapid acceleration of Hadrian's career from 105 to 108 still does not indicate that Trajan was consciously planning for Hadrian's succession. Nevertheless, contemporaries expected this, as is clearly shown by the decision of the Athenians to appoint Hadrian archon at Athens in 111/112. Probably Hadrian visited Greece at this time. Besides the inscription put up at Athens in Hadrian's honor (ILS 308), a large statue was dedicated to Hadrian while still a private citizen by the town of Coronea (Gray, Life of Hadrian, 181, n. 36). Then in 113, Trajan left to begin his Parthian campaigns, and again Hadrian accompanied him (see following note). It is clear, as Dio says, that Hadrian was ordinarily Trajan's companion, only separated from the Emperor for short intervals by the demands of his career.

1.2 τῇ τε Συρίᾳ Cf. Dio 68.33.1; H.A. Hadrian 4.6. The post was supposedly received through the influence of Trajan's wife Plotina (H.A. Hadrian 4.1, but see note on Plotina, 69.1.2). Dio 68.17-33 give some account of Trajan's eastern expedition, for which Trajan began prepara-

tions before October, 113, when he left Italy for the East. Longden's attempt to reconstruct the campaigns (JRS 21 (1931) 1-19) has been superseded by Lepper's detailed study, Trajan's Parthian War. Evidently Hadrian's governorship of Syria dates to the beginning of 114, for he composed a Greek epigram on a dedication to Zeus Kasios which Trajan made on his arrival at Seleucia Pieria, the harbor of Antioch (Anth. Pal. 6.332; Suda s.v. κάσιον ὄρος). Hadrian's headquarters were probably at Antioch throughout the war, for he is not mentioned in connection with the campaigns. The governor of Syria controlled a large army (see note, 69.1.2, p. 24), and the post was actually the highest ranked governorship in the Empire (majoribus reservata, Tacitus, Ann. 40.5), while Antioch was the third city of the Empire after Rome and Alexandria. Furthermore, while Trajan and the Roman army were deployed in the east, the stability of Syria was of paramount importance. In 114 Trajan had busied himself with the easy conquest of Armenia, then turned south into Mesopotamia. Very little fighting was necessary, until in 115 the whole territory revolted. Roman armies opposed the revolts on three fronts: Lusius Quietus (see note, 69.2.5, p.34) was sent to northern Mesopotamia, where he reduced Nisibis and burnt Edessa (according to Christian sources, this revolt was led by the Jews); the army of Maximus was defeated; and an army under Catilius Severus (see note, 69.21.1) and Julius Alexander was sent against Seleucia on the Tigris. When the revolt had been suppressed, Trajan besieged Hatra but failed to take it. Trajan intended preparations for a new expedition in 117, but his sickness and death intervened.

1.2 οὐτ' ἄλλο τι ἐξείρετον See the outline of Hadrian's career, 69.1.1, pp. 11-13. Hadrian is not mentioned as a general of importance during Trajan's reign and he did not have the fame of a man like Lusius Quietus, but his career was distinguished in several ways which Dio omits. In particular, the acceleration of his career between 105 and 108 definitely indicated Trajan's personal intervention and the archonship at Athens was an exceptional honor for a Roman, having been held earlier only by Domitian in 84 (cf. Weber, Untersuchungen, 15). Besides this, Dio hardly gives the proper emphasis to the marks of favor he does list; for Hadrian's relation to Trajan, marriage to Sabina, and constant presence in Trajan's entourage were very important qualifications and recommendations where a dynastic succession was possible. Similarly, the effect of Hadrian's holding of the governorship of Syria while Trajan carried on the Parthian war was to leave the Empire in Hadrian's hands should Trajan die, and Trajan could not have been unaware of this.

1.2 οὐθ' ὕψιστος ἐν πρώτοις ἐγένετο "Hadrian was not consul among the first men" should refer to the fact that Hadrian was suffect consul in 108 (from May to July, with M. Trebatius Priscus, cf. Degraffi, 32), rather than consul ordinarius. This was the usual age for a patrician to receive his first consulate (Morris, Listy Filologiké 87 (1964) 316-337 has compiled the evidence on the leges annales under the Principate). Hadrian was designated for his second consulship in 117, following the accepted interval of ten years, and his first coins as emperor describe him as consul designatus II (BMC III, p. 241, no. 36). Dio notes this

because it supports the argument that although Trajan appreciated and rewarded Hadrian's worth, he did not mean to make him his successor. An imperial prince regularly received a five-year remission for the age requirement for office; this recognition Hadrian did not receive. An imperial prince would also expect to be consul ordinarius and perhaps to hold a second consulate after a shorter interval than ten years; and in short, to receive honors on the basis of his status rather than to earn them.

1.2 ἀλλὰ καὶ καίσαρα αὐτὸν καὶ αὐτοκράτορα...ἀπέδειξαν "But they made him both Caesar and Emperor" seems to be a reproach. Perhaps Dio is referring to the propaganda represented by the coin of Trajan with reverse HADRIANUS CAESAR (BMC III, p. 124*). As Dio does not believe in Hadrian's adoption, Hadrian becomes Caesar, or heir to the throne, and Emperor simultaneously. A Caesar would receive the tribunician power and some secondary imperium proconsulare, both voted to him by the Senate (cf. Hammond, Antonine Monarchy, 4). When left with Trajan's army, Hadrian had an immense imperium, but he did not have the power to convene the Senate, a function of the tribunician power. In his first letter to the Senate he apologized for appropriating the position of Emperor without Senate consent (H.A. Hadrian 6.2), although in fact it would have been legally impossible for him to propose his accession to the Senate.

1.2 τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ ἄπειδος μετελλάξαντος "When Trajan died without a son" indicates that to Dio Hadrian's succession was simply due

to the lack of a direct heir. In Severan times, when Dio was writing, the dynastic succession was heavily emphasized; the imperial salutation regularly traced it back to Nerva. Most studies of the succession in the second century conclude that it was basically dynastic as in the first century, every Emperor who had a free hand passing on the Empire to his nearest male relative (cf. Geer, TAPhA 67 (1936) 47-54), Beranger, REL 17 (1939) 171-187, Carcopino, REA 51 (1949) 262-321). Possibly Trajan was still hoping for a son of his own. He was about sixty-four when he died, and Plotina may have been much younger. Pliny in his Panegyric, presented c. 100, had expressed a hope for a son born to Trajan (Pan. 8.6). The succession of Hadrian to Trajan, when Trajan had no son, would be no great exception to the rule. On the other hand, the Senate, which had chosen Nerva in 97 and had rationalized the choice of Trajan as the choice of the optimus, was probably not prepared for the reassertion of political reality. This may have been the original basis for the Senate hostility which grew during Hadrian's reign and was evidently eventually inherited by Dio.

1.2 Ὁ τε Ἀττιανὸς For detailed reference to P. Acilius Attianus, see PIR² A 45, and Lacey, Equestrian Officials, 16 and notes. Attianus, a Spanish equestrian, was Hadrian's guardian with Trajan (H.A. Hadrian 9.3). Attianus was an influential friend of Hadrian among the equestrians while his adoption was still in question (H.A. Hadrian 4.2). He was praetorian prefect (ILS 8999, Elba), and it is accepted (cf. Stein, PIR² A 45) that this was his post at Trajan's death, when he was present with him. As head of the praetorians in Syria, he was obviously influential

in winning the troops' acceptance of Hadrian. Attianus preceded Hadrian to Rome, accompanying Trajan's remains (H.A. Hadrian 5.9-10). He was praetorian prefect under Hadrian to c. 119 when his power was transferred to Turbo (H.A. Hadrian 9.4; for Turbo, see note, 69.17). Hadrian did not accept Attianus' counsel to kill Baebius Macer, the urban prefect, and two other men who were already in exile, and he attributed the deaths of the four consulars in 118 (see notes 69.2.5-6) to Attianus' advice. Hadrian could not bear his power, but would not kill him because of the compromising situation incurred by the deaths of the four consulars. He tricked Attianus into asking for a successor, then honored him highly, adlecting him into the Senate with ornamenta consularia (H.A. Hadrian 5.5; 9.3-5; 8.7). Attianus is listed as one example of Hadrian's tendency to make enemies of his friends (H.A. Hadrian 15.2), but it should be noted that the evidence implies he was too impetuous to be a good advisor and too confident in his position to be a good lieutenant.

1.2 ἡ Πλωτῖνα... H.A. Hadrian 4.10 repeats the story of Plotina's machinations as hearsay, as does Victor, Caes. 13.13. Dio is the only source which presents the story as true; he later repeats his claim that Plotina was motivated by passionate love for Hadrian (Dio 69.10.3). However, Dio earlier relates that when Plotina entered the palace as Trajan's wife in 98, she promised that her new position would not change her, and she conducted herself so that there was never any censure against her (Dio 68.14.5). Similar praise of Plotina's conduct is found in Pliny (Pan. 83); according to him she also lived on the very best

terms with her sister-in-law, Marciana (Pan. 84). The Epitome (42.41) notes her expecially among wives of Emperors: Pompeia Plotina incredibile dictu' est quanto auxerit gloriam Traiani; the same source tells a story of how she forced Trajan to discipline rapacious procurators and was upset by his indifference to his reputation on the matter. She was a strong-minded woman willing to use her influence to get her own way; but a woman's influence alone would not make an Emperor. According to the Vita, Plotina was influential in Hadrian's marriage to Sabina (favente Plotina, H.A. Hadrian 2.10); in his being made legate to the Parthian expedition (usus Plotinae quoque farore, ibid. 4.1); and his designation for a second consulship (farore Plotinae, ibid. 4.4). This sequence leads to and gives point to the story of the faking of Hadrian's adoption, which the Vita describes as done factione Plotinae (ibid. 4.10). The Vita does not claim that the story is any more than gossip, but the form of presentation gives the gossip a great deal of weight, undoubtedly reflecting a strong tradition that the story was true. In fact, Plotina's action, if she took it, seems sensible and heroic rather than blameworthy; for just as Hadrian told the Senate, the Empire needed an Emperor (H.A. Hadrian 6.2).

Plotina, who had been given the title of Augusta under Trajan, continued to be honored by Hadrian; an aureus was issued in 117-119 in honor of Plotina Augusta and Matidia Augusta (BMC III, p. 240, no. 53). In 121 she wrote to Hadrian concerning a request of the Epicureans in Athens that the successor to the head of the school might be a non-Roman. Hadrian granted her request; the tone of the exchange was quite official

(Smallwood, no. 442, cf. discussion in Lettres Latines, 398). Plotina died soon after. Hadrian received the news of her death in Gaul in the summer of 122 (H.A. Hadrian 12.1). He ordered that a basilica of marvelous workmanship be built in her honor at Nemausus (H.A. Hadrian 12.2; a temple (ναός) according to Dio 69.10.3; it is identified with the basilica mentioned in Smallwood no. 142). The location of the basilica has led Syme to suggest that Nemausus was her home, making Trajan's marriage an important link between the Spanish and Gallic families (Tacitus, 605). Hadrian also honored her after her death by wearing black for nine days and writing poems in her honor (Dio 69.10.3¹). No consecration issue appeared at the time of her death, a very important omission, perhaps due to Hadrian's absence from Rome at this time (Mattingly, BMC III, cxv). Dio's use of ἐπήνευε (69.10.3^a) implies a laudatio funebris by Hadrian given after his return to Rome in 125 (cf. Strack, 114-115). Unfortunately, no new coin issued between 123/4 and 128 carried an explanatory legend (Strack, 123). However, Plotina had received consecration before 128, by the evidence of a mutilated inscription in the temple of Trajan in Trajan's forum; an inscription dedicated to the parents (parentibus sui[s]) of Hadrian, [E]x s.c. divi[s Tr]aiano Parthico et [Plotinae...], Smallwood no. 141. Late in his reign, Hadrian's coinage indicates a desire to commemorate what had been important to him. At this time an aureus appears with busts of Trajan and Plotina, with a star above each and the legend DIVIS PARENTIBUS (BMC III, p. 318, no. 603, dated c.134-138).

1.2 πλησίον τε ὄντα Hadrian was in Antioch (Dio 69.2.1), at least 300 miles by land from Selinus in Cilicia, where Trajan died, a journey of two days at the highest speed of the imperial post (Ramsay, JRS 25 (1935) 63-65). Hadrian was nearby only relative to Rome and the governors of other provinces.

1.2 δύναμιν πολλὴν ἔχοντα Trajan left Hadrian with the army when he had set out for Rome shortly before he died (Dio 68.33.1). Exactly what army Trajan had mobilized for the Parthian war is not known. The question is discussed by Parker (Roman Legions, 159); more exhaustively by Perret (Essai, 121-137). Legions regularly stationed in Syria, the base of Trajan's operations for the war, were:

III Gallica
 IV Scythica
 VI Ferrata
 XVI Flavia

The X Fretensis was regularly stationed in nearby Judaea. All of these but the III Gallica are known to have participated in the war from the evidence of honors conferred on their officers: IV Scythica, ILS 1062, Hungary; VI Ferrata, ILS 2726, Ferentini; XVI Flavia, ILS 2660, Abella; X Fretensis, ILS 2727, Rome. Other legions may have been drawn from Cappadocia and Arabia, with some detachments from Egypt. For instance, a detachment of the III Cyrenaica (Egypt) was in Jerusalem in 116 (CIL III 13587), while another was also involved in the war (CIL X 3733). Fronto implies that some legions which fought in Dacia also fought in Parthia (Fronto, Princ. Hist. 9) Besides the legionary forces, various alae and cohorts were involved. Perret estimates that as many as

100,000 men, or one quarter of the Roman army, may have been involved in the war (Essai, 137), an estimate which is high, but not totally unreasonable. This was the army Hadrian had at his command at his acclamation as emperor by the troops on August 11, 117, his dies imperii.

1.3 ὁ γὰρ πατήρ μου Ἀπρωνιανός For Cassius Apronianus, Dio's father, see PIR² C 485. He was a senator and consul, and Dio was with him when he was governor of Cilicia, probably about sixty years after Trajan's death (Millar, Cassius Dio, 8). Dio wrote Book 69 a full hundred years after these mysterious events. Thus the first reference in Dio's history to information on which he claims personal knowledge is highly misleading. His information came directly from his senatorial background, although it is just possible that his father questioned eyewitnesses of Trajan's death when he was in Cilicia.

1.3 ἔλεγε τά τε ἅλα ὥς ἑκάστα "He used to tell all the details and that the death of Trajan was hidden for some days so that the adoption would become public." Although Dio withholds these details, the story was that Plotina had someone take Trajan's place and speak for him (H.A. Hadrian 4.10; Victor, Caes. 13.13). Dessau believed he had found the man in M. Ulpianus Phaedimus (Smallwood no. 176), a trusted freedman of Trajan, who died in Selinus at age 28 on the thirteenth of August, just two days after Trajan's death was announced to Hadrian. Dessau suggests that this man, who knew too much, had to be put out of the way (Festschrift für Kiepert, 1888, 88-91). The truth of the story must remain in doubt.

1.4 τῶν πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν γραμμάτων αὐτοῦ Note that Dio implies he has seen these letters. The Emperors did much paperwork in their own hand (Millar, JRS 57 (1967) 9-19), but this was not possible for a dying man. That Dio sees Plotina's signature as convincing evidence of a plot under these circumstances proves that Dio has already made up his mind about Plotina's guilt.

2.1-3 The Opening of the Reign

Summary: Hadrian, who was in Antioch at the time when he was named emperor, had a dream the day before in which a light from the sky, moving from left to right, struck him without hurting him. He wrote to the senate asking that his accession be confirmed and refused honors until the time when he would think them deserved. Trajan's ashes were placed in his column and Parthian games were instituted.

2.1 ὅτε ἀνηγορεύθη "When he was acclaimed Emperor" must imply that he was acclaimed by the army which was in Syria at the time. The Vita says: salutatus scilicet praepropere de militibus imperator (H.A. Hadrian 6.2). This salutation took place on the same day he received word of Trajan's death, August 11, 117, which was marked as his dies imperii (cf. Smallwood no. 117).

2.1 ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει Συρίας Ἀντιοχείᾳ Hadrian was governor of Syria from 114 (see note, 69.1.2, pp. 16-17), and was in Antioch with Trajan during the earthquake of 115 which is described in Dio 68.24-25. He was involved in the reconstruction of the city (cf. Malalas 278.20-

279.2, Migne, Patr. Gr. 97). Hadrian's three visits to Antioch and his several building projects there are described by Downey, History of Antioch, 211-223. These facts tend to disprove the suggestion of the Vita (H.A. Hadrian 14.1) that Hadrian hated Antioch.

2.1 ἐδόκει δὲ ὄναρ The predictive value of dreams was generally respected in the ancient world. Dio was no exception. In 69.3.6, he recounts a dream of Hadrian's contemporary, the sophist Favorinus. Dio's first literary effort was a book of the dreams and portents which had foretold the rise of Septimius Severus to power: when Severus received the work kindly, Dio dreamed that he should write history (Dio 72.23). In Hadrian's dream, the fire coming down from the sky in broad daylight should probably be interpreted as a comet. Dio several times records the actual appearance of a comet in connection with the death of an emperor, this being a commonly accepted omen in the Empire (cf. RE Kometen, col. 1148). Movement across the sky from left to right was a favorable omen (cf. quote from the Brutus of Accius, Cic., de div. I.45). Two other dreams of Hadrian are recounted in the Vita, from the time when his death approached. First he dreamed that he was offered a sleeping potion by his father, then that he was being crushed by a lion (H.A. Hadrian 26.10). It is possible that Hadrian, who was both self-conscious and interested in the supernatural, kept a record of his dreams as well as his waking life (he wrote his own autobiography, H.A. Hadrian 16.1; Dio 69.11.2).

2.2 ἔγραψε δὲ πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν βεβαιωθῆναι Hadrian did not ask the Senate to grant him imperium, but rather that the imperium he had already assumed be confirmed. The Vita agrees: cum ad senatum scriberet, veniam petit, quod de imperio suo iudicium senatui non dedisset (H.A. Hadrian 6.2) (see note, 69.1.2, p. 19). All arrangements in Rome for almost the first full year of Hadrian's reign were made by letter, and, perhaps, somewhat independently by the praetorian prefect Attianus, who returned to Rome with Trajan's body immediately after Hadrian's accession (H.A. Hadrian 5.9).

2.2 καὶ ἀπαγορεύων μηδὲν...τιμῇν This ought to be a separate and later letter from the one in which Hadrian asked to be confirmed in his power, because, in fact, the first coin issue of his reign gave Hadrian all of Trajan's titles while the next issue, still in 117, drops all of these (see note, 69.1.1, p. 7). In the remaining three coin issues of 117, Hadrian has the following titulature: Imperator Caesar Augustus divi Parthici Traiani filius, pronepos divi Nervae, pontifex maximus, tribunicia potestate, consul (BMC III, p. 239, no. 17).

Hadrian's emphasis on his divine parentage (see note 69.2.3) parallels the early emphasis of Augustus on his relation to divus Julius. The Vita says that Hadrian refused to accept the title pater patriae early, quod hoc nomen Augustus sero meruisset (H.A. Hadrian 6.4). The special weight of this title is mentioned by Appian (B.C. 2.7). In fact, Hadrian did not accept the title pater patriae until 128 (Perret, Titulature, 68-71: the date is of paramount importance for the chronology of Hadrian's coinage).

2.3 τὰ δὲ τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ ὅστ᾽ Dio's mention of Trajan's burial does not date the event. Hadrian had received Trajan's remains in Asia Minor before they were borne off to Rome (H.A. Hadrian 5.9). Trajan's ashes were interred in a burial chamber beneath his column in Trajan's Forum (Epit. 13.11; for plans and photographs of the burial chamber see Bandinelli, Rome, The Center of Power, 266-267). Interment inside the pomerium was a special honor, since it was forbidden by the Twelve Tables. The honor had earlier been voted by the Senate to Julius Caesar (Dio 44.7.1). According to the Vita, Hadrian, in his correspondence with the Senate, asked in very specific terms that Trajan be deified, and the Senate responded by voting more honors than Hadrian had asked (H.A. Hadrian 6.1). The immediate consecration of Trajan is attested by Hadrian's first coin issue in September 117 (see note, 69.1.1, p. 7). Trajan's triumph was offered to Hadrian, but he refused it and ordered that it should be celebrated as Trajan's; therefore the triumph was celebrated by Trajan's image (H.A. Hadrian 6.3). The same source says that Hadrian bore the image of Trajan in the triumphal chariot (imagine Traiani curru triumphali vexit). The Epitome (13.11) adds that the triumphal procession led directly to Trajan's interment. If the sources are correct, the triumph, or combined triumph-funeral, was delayed until Hadrian's return to Rome; this suggestion is perhaps supported by the coin of Hadrian dedicated to Trajan with the reverse TRIUMPHUS PARTHICUS (BMC III, p. 244, no. 47), for this coin is not dated among the earliest Hadrianic issues.

2.3 αἱ θεαὶ αἱ Παρθηναί The Parthian games Dio mentions seem to be attested by the existence of a praetor parthicarius (CIL II 4110, Tarraco), but no more is known of them. At some point Hadrian had perfume poured down the theater steps in Trajan's honor (H.A. Hadrian 19.5), but this may have been in connection with Trajan's triumph or some other festival.

2.4 The Oath not to Kill Senators

Summary: In a letter to the Senate, Hadrian swore that he would do nothing not in the interest of the state and that he would not kill any senator.

This section is not found in the epitome of Xiphilinus but appears in the Suda, s.v. Ἀδριανός, and in Exc. Val. 293a, which also stem from Dio. Exc. Val. 293b continues with the account of the death of the four consulars. This arrangement places the incident in a more negative light than does Xiphilinus' epitome. (The Excerpta Valesiana specifically treats examples of virtue and vice) The section should be placed before, rather than after the burial of Trajan, as it belongs with the other letters from the period when Hadrian governed by correspondence (from August 117 to the spring or summer of 118).

2.4 μήτε βουλευτὴν τινα ἀποσφάξειν The Emperor's oath not to kill Senators is discussed by Garnsey, Social Status and Legal Privilege, 43-47; also A. Birley, CR 76 (1962) 197-199. The oath was first sworn by Nerva (Dio 68.1.2). Trajan swore a similar oath on his accession

(Dio 68.5.2). Hadrian was therefore following an established precedent. Dio indicates that the oath was taken before Hadrian returned to Rome. The Vita places the promise not to kill senators nisi ex senatus sententia in a speech made by Hadrian before the Senate, after the execution of the four consulars, in which he apologized for what had happened (H. A. Hadrian 7.4: this speech of justification also appears in Dio 69.2.6).

2.4 ἐξώλειαν ἑαυτῷ...προσεπαρασάμενος "He invoked destruction on himself" (Cary, Dio VIII, 427, Loeb). Dio uses the same wording to describe an oath of Julius Caesar (Dio 41.38.3). This oath casts an interesting light on the impossibility of external control of the imperial power. It is an oath (exsecratio) which calls down sanctions beyond the law. However, such sanctions had been called into question by thinking men long before (cf. Cic, de offic. 102). In fact, the most sincere and generous assurances from the Emperor could not be guaranteed. Hadrian broke his oath when he became involved in the execution of the four consulars (see Dio 69.2.5-6). Hadrian felt responsibility for this incident, but claimed in his autobiography that the deed had been voted by the Senate and done against his will (senatu iubente, invito Hadriano: H.A. Hadrian 7.2). Hadrian died a miserable death, so cruel that he tried to hurry his death by suicide (Dio 69.22.1-4; Epit. 14.9, 12; H.A. Hadrian 24.8). Dio perhaps mentioned the oath, which was clearly violated, to dramatize his opinion that Hadrian deserved an unhappy death. Dio later tells how Hadrian's brother-in-law, Servianus, prayed that Hadrian would wish for death and not find it (Dio 69.17.4); again Dio seems to suggest poetic justice.

2.5-6 The Affair of the Four Consuls

Summary: Hadrian ruled very well, yet he was criticized for the murders of notable men and on this account was almost not consecrated. Those killed at the beginning of his reign were Palma and Celsus, Nigrinus and Lusius, two because they had plotted against him while hunting, the others for such reasons as that they were powerful, rich and famous. Hadrian minded the accusations so much that he swore he had not ordered their deaths. Those who died at the end of his reign were Servianus and his grandson Fuscus.

The source for this incident, aside from the compressed and confused account in the epitome of Dio, is the Vita (H.A. Hadrian 7.1-4, 7; 9.3). Lusius Quietus, Avidius Nigrinus, Cornelius Palma and Publius Celsus, all generals of Trajan of the highest rank, had supposedly plotted against Hadrian. Evidence of the plot, however, hardly existed. Furthermore the four were widely separated at the time of their execution. According to the Vita, Celsus and Palma had always been Hadrian's enemies (H.A. Hadrian 4.3). The Vita clearly gives the initiative in the plot to Nigrinus, but von Premerstein, in an otherwise very helpful study (Das Attentat der Konsulare, Klio, Beiheft 8, 1908), proposed an actual murder attempt by Lusius Quietus in Asia Minor, using as evidence an Arabic translation of an essay by the contemporary sophist Polemo which describes an attempt to murder the Emperor. This essay has nothing to do with the affair of the four consuls and should be attached to Hadrian's journey in Asia Minor in 123 (cf. Bowersock, Greek Sophists, 120-123). The problems are compounded by the fact that no date or location is named for the attempt on Hadrian's life. His whereabouts between

the summer of 117 and the summer of 118 can be reconstructed only from inferences. He had remained in Antioch for some time (cf. H.A. Hadrian 5.10). An itinerary through Asia Minor dated to October may belong to Hadrian (CIL VI 5076, Rome). His movements may have been slowed by the army which accompanied him (cf. Smallwood no. 498, Ancyra). After spending the winter in Asia Minor, he crossed into Europe in the early spring of 118, giving his personal attention to the revolt of the Roxolani in Lower Moesia, and delegating Marcius Turbo to quell the Sarmatian revolt on the borders of Pannonia and Dacia (H.A. Hadrian 6.7-8). It is at this point that a plot of Nigrinus could be placed, followed by his dismissal from his post and return home. The news of the upset caused in Rome later by the execution of the four consulars caused Hadrian to hurry to Rome per Illyricum (Dalmatia (H.A. Hadrian 7.3; 5.10). He arrived in Italy in the spring or summer of 118.

2.5 καὶ ὀλίγου διὰ ταῦτ' οὐδὲ ἐς τοὺς ἥρωας ἀνεγράφη The Senate's refusal to vote Hadrian divine honors is related largely to this affair by Dio, and he mentions it again in 69.23.3.

2.5 Πάλμας τε καὶ Κέλσος Νιγρῖνος τε καὶ Λούσιος The four men are listed in the same order in H.A. Hadrian 7.2, the order of their relative ranking in the Senate (von Premerstein, Das Attentat, 32).

Aulus Cornelius Palma Frontonianus (PIR² C 1412) was a great general under Trajan; consul ordinarius in 99, conqueror of Arabia Petraea c. 105-106, he was greatly esteemed and honored by Trajan (Dio 68.16.2),

becoming consul ordinarius II in 109. Lucius Publilius Celsus (RE Publilius 18, Hanslik) was similarly honored by Trajan. Suffect consul in 102, he became consul ordinarius II in 113. The two were disgraced under Trajan when suspected of treason (Dio 68.16.2; H.A. Hadrian 4.3; however, the language of both sources is ambiguous). Both may therefore have been in retirement (Weber, Untersuchungen, 79) if not actually banished from Rome before they met their deaths at the resort areas of Tarracena and Baiae respectively (H.A. Hadrian 7.2).

C. Avidius Nigrinus (PIR² A 1408) was the actual author of the plot: H.A. Hadrian 7.1, Nigrini insidias...evasit. Nigrinus had been legate in Achaia under Trajan, and legatus Augusti pro praetore Daciae (cf. von Premerstein, SBericht. Bayerisch. Akad. 3 (1934) 40), a post which, if held at Hadrian's accession, would have allowed him access to the emperor in the first half of 118, when Hadrian was personally occupied with settling the revolt of the Roxolani in Lower Moesia (H.A. Hadrian 6.8), and also supervising the war with the Sarmatians on the boundary of Dacia and Pannonia, which had originated simultaneously, through his favored lieutenant, Marcius Turbo (H.A. Hadrian 6.7). Nigrinus belonged to a prominent Roman family, and was the step-father of Ceionius Commodus, whom Hadrian later designated as his heir. Hadrian may even have considered Nigrinus as a possible heir (cf. H.A. Hadrian 7.1).

Of the four, Lusius Quietus (RE Lusius 9, Groag; Petersen, Das Altertum 14 (1968) 211-219) was the most brilliant and unstable. Dio describes him as a Mauretanian cavalry commander under Trajan (Dio 68.32.4-5; 22.2; 30). Disgraced before the Dacian wars for some sort of base con-

duct (πουνηρία), he served in both wars because Trajan needed his cavalry. A series of articles in Mnemosyne (I (1948) 327-337, III (1950) 158-165, 263-267, 336-343) by den Boer and Roos argue the question of the origin and race of Lusius. A cavalry unit which appears on Trajan's column has the crinkly hair which signified the black man in Roman art, and this cavalry unit is naturally identified with that of Lusius (cf. Webster, RIA, Pl. xiv a). At any rate, his origins were non-Roman; he was not even a subject Libyan, but came from outside the empire (Them. Orat. XVI, 205a). He was therefore a natural candidate for Roman equestrian status, but an impossibility as emperor in the second century, despite Themistius' claim that Trajan preferred Lusius to any other heir. Lusius was again useful to Trajan in the Parthian war; the Jewish sources tell of the 'war of Quietus' (Mishnah Sotah 9.14); he was responsible for a massacre of Jews in 116-117, cf. Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. 4.2.5. Trajan then made him suffect consul, and governor of Judaea. Dio mentions "the jealousy and hatred that brought about his destruction" (68.32.4). This must refer to Hadrian, who, soon after his accession, took away Lusius' command of his own Mauretanian troops (H.A. Hadrian 5.8) and removed him as governor of Judaea. The Mauretanian revolt (H.A. Hadrian 5.2) was almost surely connected with Lusius' loss of his men and his post in Judaea on Hadrian's accession.

Palma and Celsus had always been Hadrian's enemies (H.A. Hadrian 4.3), perhaps because of his tendency to oppose Trajan's expansionism, of which they had been the agents. Hadrian's intentions to give up Parthia and even perhaps Dacia (Eutropius 8.6.2, cf. Dio 68.13.6 on Hadrian's taking

down the Danube bridge; also Fronto, Princ. Hist. 10), were evident before the plot matured. Lusius Quietus was a much more direct threat to Hadrian; governor of Palestine when Hadrian became emperor, he was the kind of man who attracted personal loyalty as well as the violent hatred of his enemies. Syme has suggested that the Italian origin of Palma, Celsus, and Nigrinus may have linked them together against Hadrian and the Spanish 'clan' (Tacitus, 599). In fact, Nigrinus is the key, as the Vita states (H.A. Hadrian 7.1; 23.10). The other three, with good reason to hate Hadrian, supported his intrigues against the Emperor.

2.5 οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ..., οἱ μὲν..., οἱ δὲ.... Four men are listed as being executed at the beginning of Hadrian's reign. Cary's translation ("the first two..., the others...", Cary, Dio VIII, 427, Loeb) makes Palma and Celsus guilty of plotting, Nigrinus and Lusius those who were killed on account of their status and power. The Greek, however, does not assign the 'charges' to specific persons. Dio does seem to separate the four into two groups of two (τε καὶ...τε καὶ). Palma and Celsus had been mentioned together in conjunction with Sosius, another important commander under Trajan (Dio 68.16.2). The Vita also groups the men in pairs: Palma et Celso, inimicis semper suis (i.e., to Hadrian,) H.A. Hadrian 4.3. The complementary pair appears in H.A. Hadrian 7.1: Nigrini insidias,...conscio sibi Lusio et multis aliis, ...evasit. The Vita clearly ascribes the actual plot to Nigrinus and (perhaps) Lusius. Palma and Celsus would then conveniently fit the description μεγάλα δυνάμενοι καὶ πλούτου καὶ δόξης εὖ ἥκοντες.

2.5 οἱ μὲν ὥς ἐν θήρᾳ δῆθεν ἐπιβουλευνότες αὐτῷ Scholars have understood Dio's ἐν θήρᾳ to be the location of the attempt; this seems to conflict with the Vita's sacrificanti Hadriano. Weber and von Premerstein have attempted to resolve the difficulty by placing the attempt while sacrificing before a hunt. The revision of ἐν θήρᾳ to ἐν θυσίᾳ has been suggested by Casaubon, and Boissevain accepts this as recte fortasse (Boissevain, Dio III, p. 223, note). But Dio actually says "while hunting they had plotted against him"; while the Vita adds, "planning an attempt against him while he was sacrificing, which he escaped." Dio's δῆθεν indicates he does not believe that even this tenuous a plot existed (Millar, Cassius Dio, 64). Quite possibly, the attempt, being anticipated, never took place. There is an interesting sidelight cast on the situation by a quotation ascribed to Hadrian in an apocryphal letter of Marcus Aurelius to Verus (H.A. Albinus 10.6): Misera condicio imperatorum, quibus de adfecta tyrannide nisi occisi non potest credi. In fact, evidence for the plot was practically non-existent, even to those contemporary to it.

2.5 φόνους Dio labels their deaths "murders". Roman law in Hadrian's time provided progressive stages of punishment; relegatio (which meant banishment from Rome); relegatio in insula; deportatio, which included loss of civil rights; and finally, death (Digest 48.19.4). For example Crassus Frugi (PIR² C 259) had been relegated for treachery under Nerva and then relegated to an island under Trajan for a new offense. He was finally killed by a procurator when he left the island under Hadrian; (Dio 68.3.2, 68.16.2, H.A. Hadrian 5.5-6). In a later case of treason

under Hadrian, that of Titianus, the man was tried and proscribed (H.A. Hadrian 15.6; c. a. 127, cf. von Premerstein, Das Attentat, 38). The traditional immunity of the Roman citizen from capital punishment was reinforced in the case of senators by Hadrian's specific oath not to allow men of this rank to be put to death (see note, 69.2.4). The four consulars, however, were probably not even tried in an ordinary court: for the trial the defendants should have been present in Rome, yet the Vita merely says that they were killed, Palma at Tarracena, Celsus at Baiae, Nigrinus at Faventia, Lucius "in itinere" (H.A. Hadrian 7.2). ~~Tarracena~~ and Baiae are resorts; Faventia the home town of Nigrinus (cf. Weber, 79; Syme, Tacitus, 599); Lusius' whereabouts are difficult to guess, depending on whether his dismissal from his post as governor of Judaea should be dated to Hadrian's accession or to February/March of 118 (cf. Smallwood, Historia 11 (1962) 504-505, for a discussion of Jewish sources relevant to this date). Although von Premerstein arbitrarily states that the four were convicted by Attianus' praetorian court, the witness of the Vita that they died senatu iubente (H.A. Hadrian 7.2) should mean that their condemnation actually came from the Senate.

2.6 ἐπώμοσε μὴ κεκελευμέναι ἀποθανεῖν αὐτούς Dio clearly states that Hadrian "managed certain murders" while Hadrian publicly denied his responsibility. The Vita states that Hadrian's guilt lay in allowing these deaths to happen (H.A. Hadrian 7.3). Hadrian also never tried to justify the act, but even apologized for it: in senatu quoque excusatis quae facta erant, ibid. 7.4. Substantial agreement between Dio's account and the Vita indicates that although Hadrian was

morally implicated he did not actually order the deaths; the sentence was passed by the Senate itself, probably at the instance of Attianus, as Hadrian later claimed (H.A. Hadrian 9.3). In Hadrian's absence, Attianus needed only to present evidence against the four to push the Senate into action.

The aftermath humiliated the Senate. Hadrian was anxious not to be saddled with responsibility for the situation, and besides declaring that the Senate itself had voted the deaths, also implicated the Senate by turning over the goods of the dead men to the senate treasury (cf. von Premerstein, Das Attentat, 38-39 on H.A. Hadrian 7.7: damnatorium bonæ...in aerario publico recepta). Thus the Emperor did not take the blood money--the πλοῦτος Dio implies motivated him--as had been the usual practice. As a final measure to quell the gossip and bad feeling the event had aroused, Hadrian dispensed a double congiarium (H.A. Hadrian 7.3; commemorated by coins of 118, BMC III, p. 404, no. 1136). It is interesting that Severus, whose reign saw the murder of many senators and also shaped Dio's opinions, also found occasion to deny responsibility for such murders: se excusabat et post eorum mortem negabat fieri iussisse, quod factum est (H.A. Severus 15.6). This passage is obviously parallel to H.A. Hadrian 2.4 and to the present passage in Dio. Possibly Dio meant the parallel to be obvious and instructive to his contemporaries.

2.6 οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ Δερουιανός...καὶ...Φοῦσκος For

Servianus and Fuscus, see note, 69.17.1, p.141. The fact that Dio links

the affair of the four consulars, which occurred in 118, with the deaths of Servianus and Fuscus in late 136 indicates an intention to discredit Hadrian.

2.6 ὅτι Ἀδριανὸς ἦν ἡδὺς μὲν ἐντυχεῖν This little statement on Hadrian's manner is not found in the epitomes, but comes from John Malalas.

3. Hadrian's Quarrel with the Sophists

Summary: Hadrian was particularly gifted in literary pursuits, and he insisted on being competent in all areas. His jealousy caused him to hate people of great ability. The sophists Faverinus of Arelate and Dionysius of Miletus suffered on this account.

Hadrian was known to turn against former friends, and the Vita lists the important political figures who experienced this (H.A. Hadrian 15.2-10, 23.2-6; probably they did not suffer active reprisals, but simply an end to their relations with the Emperor, cf. Rogers, TAPhA 90 (1959) 224-237). However, Dio is referring only to Hadrian's relations with the contemporary intellectual elite. The Greek sophists had developed public speaking to a very particular art; the great ones were surrounded by pupils and honored by cities as well as by the Emperor. Some of them, for instance, Polemo of Smyrna and Herodes Atticus, were men of great wealth who had influence with the Emperor because of their prestige at home; others, like Favorinus, Dionysius, and Avidius Heliodorus (a Syrian) were more dependent on the Emperor for advancement. Hadrian

liked to surround himself with these men; at the same time they often felt his malice - tamen professores omnium artium semper ut doctior risit, contempsit, obtrivit (H.A. Hadrian 15.10). For a general account of Hadrian's character, cf. Syme, in Les Empereurs Romains d'Espagne, 243-253. Much general information on the sophists is found in Philostratus, Vitae Sophistarum, from the third century; Bowersock's Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire is a useful recent survey.

3.1 βουλευτοῦ πατρὸς ἐστρατηγηκότος Hadrian's father was a senator and had held the post of praetor (the most reasonable translation of ἐστρατηγηκότος). His cognomen Afer is unexplained. For Hadrian's family, see note 69.1.1, pp. 7-9 .

3.1 φιλολόγος ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ τῇ γλώσσῃ Compare Jerome, Chron. a. 2132, eruditissimus in utraque lingua. Hadrian was called Graeculus as a youth because of his passion for Greek studies (H.A. Hadrian 1.5): his Latin evidently suffered, since his pronunciation caused amusement in the Senate at the time of his quaestorship, but he was motivated by this to improve his Latin usque ad summam peritiam (H.A. Hadrian 3.1). Hadrian was specifically interested in etymology: Charisius (s.v. obiter) implies Hadrian wrote books on word usage (cf. Bardon, Lettres Latines, 413); one dispute with the sophist Favorinus was also over the usage of a word (H.A. Hadrian 14.12-13). Hadrian also considered himself a discriminating judge of literature. His taste was deliberately unconventional; he preferred Cato to Cicero; Ennius to Virgil, and "he judged Homer and Plato with the same boastful confidence" (eademque

iactatione, H.A. Hadrian 16.5-6). In fact, he claimed to prefer Antimachos, the Hellenistic elegiac poet and author of the Thebaid, to Homer (Dio 69.4.6).

3.1 καὶ τινὰ...ποιήματα παντοδαπὰ καταλέλοιπε Bardon (Lettres Latines, 393-424) has made a critical study of the remnants of Hadrian's Latin composition. The quality of Hadrian's work has never earned him any praise, but there can be no doubt as to its quantity. Before he became emperor, Trajan had trusted him to write some of his speeches (H.A. Hadrian 3.11). The Vita emphasizes that Hadrian was extremely skilled both in speaking and writing (ibid., 14.8-9; 15.10), and he kept up his facility by taking part in the fashionable past time of extempore declamation of fictitious legal cases (controversias declamavit, ibid., 16.5; cf. Clark, Rhetoric in Greco-Roman Education, 213-261, on declamation, particularly of controversiae). Prose works included his autobiography (H.A. Hadrian 16.1), a laudatio funebris for his mother-in-law Matidia (Smallwood no. 114), a series of letters attacking the orator Heliodorus (H.A. Hadrian 15.5), and exchanges of various sorts with philosophers and professors (ibid., 14.11). He also wrote a good deal of verse in both Latin and Greek. He wrote funeral hymns for Trajan's wife Plotina (Dio 69.10.3), which are not extant. The Vita ascribes two sets of verse to Hadrian; one, a humorous exchange with the poet Florus (ego nolo Florus esse..., H.A. Hadrian 16.3-4); the other the famous death-bed poem beginning animula vagula blandula (ibid. 25.9). More fragments of his Latin verse may be found in Baehrens, Poetae Latini Minores IV, 126. He also wrote catachannae in imitation of Antimachos,

the Hellenistic poet. The Vita describes the work as libri obscurissimi (H.A. Hadrian 16.2). Fronto's definition of the word catachanna as a tree on which every other sort of tree is grafted--and an oratorical phenomenon which ought to be rooted out (ad M. Caes. II.11; Ad M. Anton. de Orat. 2), casts some light on the sort of work this was. Hadrian's Greek verse may also have included oracles written for the shrine of Antinous (H.A. Hadrian 14.7). Fragments may be found in the Anthologia Palatina (6.332; 7.674; 9.137; [9.402]; [9.17]); and in Kaibel, Epigrammata Graeca (811; 888a; 1089).

3.2 οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐκ...εἰδέναι ἔλεγε Hadrian claimed that he knew all "the arts of peace and war, the affairs of state or private life." Besides the literary interests mentioned above, he sculpted (ἔπλασσε), drew and interested himself in architectural design (see note 69.4.2). The Vita adds mathematics, singing and playing the lyre, as well as a thorough knowledge of military science, to the list of his abilities (H.A. Hadrian 14.9-10). The Epitome (14.2) further cites a knowledge of medicine and painting, and describes Hadrian as a sculptor "equal to Polycleitus or Euphranor." He was also expert in astrology (H.A. Hadrian 2.4; 16.7). Moreover, he was an experienced and enthusiastic hunter, an art which was felt to reveal the peculiar virtues of a king (see note, Dio 69.10). Not content with this, nor with his competence in military matters, he even tried his hand at gladiatorial combat (H.A. Hadrian 14.10). He found the time for so many interests by pursuing several things concurrently--writing, dictating, chatting with friends and listening to something else all at the same time, while a perfect memory

contributed to his mastery of so many areas (cf. H.A. Hadrian 20.6, 10-11). Beyond these objective talents, however, Hadrian may have been referring to his total awareness of what was going on around him. The Vita notes how well he remembered names and faces (H.A. Hadrian 20.8-10). But rather than depend on himself alone, he used spies to inform himself on the nobles. They were recruited from the frumentarii, soldiers who had freedom of movement because their original assignment was to supply grain (frumentum) to the troops (cf. H.A. Hadrian 11.4-6; Sinnigen, MAAR 27 (1961) 213-224). He was willing to hear whispers about anyone, including his closest friends (H.A. Hadrian 15.2), but he was interested in everything, not just personal gossip, keeping as well informed on matters in the Empire (omnes publicas rationes) as a paterfamilias in his home (H.A. Hadrian 20.12).

3.3 ὁ δὲ δὴ φθόνος αὐτοῦ δεινότατος...ὦν Dio makes Hadrian's jealousy toward the litterati frightful, while the Vita presents a less damning picture of Hadrian as a spiteful tease (cf. H.A. Hadrian 15.10-12, 16.8-11, and see next note).

3.3 πολλοὺς μὲν καθέϊλε συχνοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπώλεσε "His envy demoted many and even ruined many." The accusation that Hadrian actually killed ("ἀπώλεσε") many people of whom he was jealous is clearly what Dio intended to suggest, but his facts do not support his claim (Apollodorus died, but the sophists did not, see note, 69.4.1). Philostratus gives no support to Dio's view of a vendetta against the sophists. The Vita presents a parallel view of Hadrian's hostility toward the

nobility, but the number of deaths which can be circumstantiated is very small (cf. H.A. Hadrian 15.2-10; 25.8; but compare 5.5-6). It is clear that Hadrian was capable of ending a man's career. Literary men were not alone in falling out of Hadrian's favor, and malice must be accepted as part of his personality.

3.4 Φαουωρίνον τὸν Γαλάτην For Favorinus of Arelate, cf. PIR² F 123; Mensching, Favorin (1963), and Barigazzi, Opere: Favorino di Arelate (1966). Philostratus includes a life of Favorinus (VS I.8, 489-492), describing him as a philosopher rather than a sophist. However, he is often mentioned by Aulus Gellius in connection with questions of grammar and etymology. Despite the fact that Favorinus was a hermaphrodite, he set a fashion in rhetoric (Phil. VS II.6, 576) and was a special favorite of the emperor Hadrian for a time (H.A. Hadrian 16.10). One of the paradoxes of his life, recorded by Philostratus (VS I.8, 489), was to "disagree with the emperor yet survive". He once conceded an etymological dispute to Hadrian because, as he told his friends, he should be allowed to believe that the master of thirty legions was wiser than he (H.A. Hadrian 15.12-13). The story of his failure to gain immunity from Hadrian (Dio 69.3.6 and see note) is also told by Philostratus in very similar terms. A poem ascribed to him entitled περὶ φυγῆς suggests that he was exiled; by Hadrian, for he returned to his Roman house, friends and students under Antoninus Pius (cf. Mensching, op. cit., 2). The date of his exile may tentatively be placed in the middle thirties, depending on the not very reliable evidence of Jerome, who notes under the year 133: Phavorinus et Polemon rhetores insignes habentur (Chron.

a. 2148). The disgrace of Favorinus would have redounded to the credit of his famous rival, the tremendously wealthy and arrogant Polemo (Phil. VS I.25, 530-544), who was the patron and favorite of Smyrna, while Favorinus was the favorite of Ephesus. It is doubtful if Favorinus, who was of modest equestrian background (cf. Dio of Prusa, Or. 37.25; which speech is ascribed to Favorinus), was exiled on political grounds. More probably, his offence against the emperor was merely a personal one; however; it seems unlikely that his exile was caused by his giving up the particular case mentioned by Dio (69.3.6).

3.4 Διονύσιον του Μιλήσιου Information on Dionysius of Miletus is collected in PIR² D 105. Philostratus (VS I.22, 521-526) tells much of Dionysius' rhetorical ability but little about his life. He taught and died in Ephesus, the city which also favored Favorinus, and an inscription found there describes him as rhetor, sophist and [διδάσκαλος] ἐπίτροπον του Σεβαστοῦ (Keil, JÖAI 40 (1953), 6; ἐπίτροπον may be loosely translated 'procurator', cf. Stein, Römische Ritterstand, 133). According to Philostratus, Dionysius was much honored by Hadrian, given equestrian status and made σατράπης of a people οὐκ ἄφαντων. Philostratus may have been referring to the post praefectus gentium; probably the phrase ἐπίτροπον τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ refers to the same appointment. He was also given membership in the Alexandrian Museum, a sinecure which carried a stipend. Dionysius' career illustrates the trend in the second and third century to give high equestrian posts to distinguished Greek sophists who had not come up through the Roman career cursus and who

had no military experience. However, although Dionysius did receive Roman appointments, he evidently coveted the post ab epistulis, which under Hadrian became one of the highest posts in the equestrian cursus. Jealousy would then have been the motivation for his attack on Avidius Heliodorus (Dio 69.3.5). Dionysius was also known to have been a long-time rival of Caninius Celer, who was ab epistulis and tutor to Marcus and Lucius at the end of Hadrian's reign and the beginning of the reign of Antoninus (cf. Arist. 50.57, Keil; Marcus ad se ipsum 8.25; H.A. Marcus 2.4, Verus 2.5). This agrees with Dio's accusation that Hadrian advanced the rivals of those who fell from his favor (τῷ τοῦς ἀνταγωνιστάς σφων ἐξαίρειν).

3.4 καταλύειν ἐπεχειρεῖ The violent sense of καταλύω ("destroy") should probably be avoided in favor of the meanings "depose" or "dismiss"; cf. use in Dio 69.4.6, where Homer was not "destroyed", but rather "neglected".

3.5 Ἀουίδιον Ἡλιοδώρον Information on Avidius Heliodorus is collected in PIR² A 1405. He was a Syrian from Cyrrhus, identified as a philosopher by the Vita (Epictetum et Heliodorum philosophos; H.A. Hadrian 16.10). The Vita also includes him in the list of those who fell out of Hadrian's favor (Heliodorum famosissimis litteris laccessivit; ibid., 15.5); a statement which must not be taken too seriously, since not only was Heliodorus ab epistulis under Hadrian, but he also was made prefect of Egypt just before Hadrian's death, a post which he still held

in August, 141 (Stein, Die Präfekten von Ägypten, 73). Heliodorus was the father of Avidius Cassius, a powerful general of Marcus Aurelius who attempted to seize the Empire (Dio 71.22.2).

3.5 ἐπιστολᾶς αὐτοῦ διαγαγόντα Heliodorus held the post ab epistulis, which Hadrian regularly gave to men of equestrian status (H.A. Hadrian 22.8; ab epistulis et a libellis primus equites Romanos habuit).

Direct services to the Emperor, which had formerly been provided by freedmen, thus became part of the official administration. Unlike senatorial posts, equestrian posts were paid, the ab epistulis at the highest level at Hadrian's time, two hundred thousand sesterces per annum (Hirschfeld, in Die Kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten, thoroughly details Hadrian's administrative reforms). Known holders of the post ab epistulis under Hadrian are Suetonius (from 117 to 122), L. Julius Vestinus, Avidius Heliodorus, Valerius Eudaemon and Caninius Celer (cf. Townend, Historia 10 (1961) 380). The post was perhaps divided into two, the ab epistulis graecis and the ab epistulis latinis at some time under Hadrian, but Dio's phrase does not suggest this.

3.6 περὶ τῆς ἀτελείας Bowersock, Greek Sophists, 30-42, treats the question of ἀτέλεια or immunitas. To be elected to a municipal post in the Roman Empire was not so much an honor as a financial burden (munus). Immunity from λειτουργία (or munera) had been first granted by Vespasian to doctors and teachers (medici and praeceptores, cf. McCrum and Woodhead, Doc. of the Flav. Emp., no. 458). By the beginning of his reign, Hadrian had incorporated philosophers and rhetors in the group

(Dig. 50.4.18.30). Thus men who were often of the wealthier families in the cities and towns could gain exemption from compulsion for the municipal expenses that would naturally fall to them with magistracies (Dig. 27.1.6.8). Favorinus had been elected highpriest in Narbonese Gaul (Phil., VS I.5, 490). To avoid the post he intended to prove his right to immunity as a philosopher. It was probably already evident that the law was impractical, and perhaps Hadrian's opposition to Favorinus' claim was an outcome of this rather than evidence of particular malice against him (Bowersock, op. cit., 35). Aelius Aristides dragged out a similar case for years before lower courts at the end of Hadrian's reign and under Antoninus Pius (ibid., 36-9).

4. Hadrian and the Architect Apollodorus

Summary: Hadrian first banished and then killed Apollodorus, who had been responsible for many of Trajan's buildings in Rome. Hadrian, who had a grudge against him, sent him the plans for the temple of Venus and Roma and asked him if he approved the structure. Apollodorus pointed out possible improvements. Hadrian was vexed and, rather than controlling his anger and distress, he killed him.

The Roman empire underwent an architectural revolution between the middle of the first and the middle of the second century, and this forms an important background to the story of Apollodorus; see Boëthius and Ward-Perkins, Etruscan and Roman Architecture ([1970]), pp. 245-263. MacDonald, The Architecture of the Roman Empire (1965), 129-137, includes a detailed and heavily researched chapter on Hadrian and Apollodorus, but his conclusions do not altogether agree with mine.

4.1 Ἀπολλόδωρον τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα The few scattered references to Apollodorus of Damascus in ancient sources are collected in PIR² A 922. He first appears in history as the architect of an enormous bridge over the Ister (upper Danube) for Trajan during the Dacian wars (Procopius, de aed. IV. 6.12-13; cf. Dio 68.13). The bridge appears on Trajan's Column, cf. L. Rossi, Trajan's Column and the Dacian Wars, fig. 89. Later he built Trajan's public works in Rome (see next note), and continued as the principal architect in the early part of Hadrian's reign; since he was Hadrian's advisor in the planned project to build a colossus of Luna to complement the colossus of Sol (cf. H.A. Hadrian 19.13). The style of ornamentation favored on Trajan's public buildings, which D. Strong has called 'Augustan revival', also continued in the early works of Hadrian in Rome, another indication of Apollodorus' continuing influence (cf. Strong, PBSR 21 (1953) 120). Apollodorus also wrote a book on siege-works, the Πολιορκητικά (transl. into French by Lacoste, REG 3 (1890) 230-281), which was dedicated to Hadrian.

4.1 τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐφυγάδευσεν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἀπέκτεινε Theories as to when Apollodorus was exiled and killed depend heavily on the Πολιορκητικά. Some scholars have felt the work should be ascribed to Trajan's time, and have found similar descriptions to the mobile siege-works shown on Trajan's column, that is, siege-works in Dacia (cf. RE Poliorketiker, cols. 1388-89). Alternatively, the work has been related to the Jewish war (c. 132-136), which would then date Apollodorus' exile and death to late in Hadrian's reign (cf. Millar, Cassius Dio, 65-66). It seems more likely that Apollodorus presented the

work to Hadrian at the very beginning of his reign, when troubles on the Danube may have made siege-works of the type with which Apollodorus was well-acquainted once again necessary. It is likely that the Πολιορκητικὰ was presented before Apollodorus was exiled; he was not exiled immediately, because Hadrian intended his aid in the construction of a colossus of Luna, a project which would have followed the removal of the colossus of Nero, while that removal was a step preparatory to the building of the temple of Venus and Roma (cf. H.A. Hadrian 19.12-13). In short, the temple of Venus and Roma was in the planning stages before Apollodorus was exiled. Dio also may indicate that Apollodorus had already been exiled when Hadrian sent him the plans for the temple of Venus and Roma, since he sent them to demonstrate what he could accomplish without him (ἄνευ ἐκείνου, Dio 69.4.3). Actual construction of the temple began somewhere between 121 and 125 (see note, 69.4.3). It seems reasonable, therefore, to date the exile of Apollodorus fairly early in Hadrian's reign, perhaps to 120, and his death to c. 125.

4.1 τὸν τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὸ ὠδεῖον τὸ τε γυμνάσιον The list of Apollodorus' work here is the only one extant. The Trajanic works in Rome ascribed to Apollodorus are very impressive. The greatest work was Trajan's Forum. (Note that the Greek word ἀγορά means either "forum" or "market" in Roman context.) The forum begun under Domitian was redesigned (Vict. Caes. 13.5) and complemented by a market which was built up in tiers into the side of the Quirinal hill, from which a great deal of earth had to be cut away. The bottom level of the market was built in the shape of a hemicycle, and it faced a corresponding

hemicycle across the very large open forum. The huge Basilica Ulpia stood to one side, while beyond it was Trajan's Column, flanked by libraries. The height of the column, its inscription states, indicates the level of the earth which had to be removed to construct the great forum (cf. Dio 68.16; Smallwood no. 378a). This inscription indicates how impressive the engineering of the forum had been, since one might have rather expected an inscription commemorating the Dacian wars or the Emperor who was interred in the column base. The column was dedicated on May 4, 113 (cf. Smallwood, no. 22 (Fasti Ostienses), lines 55-56), probably marking the completion of the whole forum area. For the remains of the forum, cf. Nash, Pict. Dict. I, 450-456; for the market, II, 49-58. For a clear reconstruction, cf. Bigot, Rome Antique, 38-39. The thermae Traiani (γυμνάσιον) is another magnificent work of Apollodorus. The extensive baths and grounds were laid out on the site of Nero's Golden House. The construction was again in the contemporary modern medium of concrete poured into brick forms. The baths were opened on June 22, 109 (Smallwood no. 22, lines 10-11). For the remains of the baths, cf. Nash, II, 472; for a reconstruction, Bigot, 42-43. The ὠδελόν which Dio mentions is probably the odeum of Domitian (cf. Platner-Ashby, s.v. Odeum). Alternatively, it might have been a quite unknown theater which Hadrian destroyed early in his reign, contra omnium vota, cf. H.A. Hadrian 9.1 and Tamm-Fählstrom, Eranos 57 (1959) 67-69.

4.2 κολονύντας The "pumpkins" or "gourds" here referred to are round and ribbed. It seems likely that the drawing in which Hadrian took so much pride was an architectural plan rather than a still life (Pollitt, Art of Rome, p. 176, no. 166, suggested that the "pumpkins" referred to Hadrian's fondness for domes; also cf. MacDonald, Roman Architecture, p. 135 and notes). Apsidal buildings, which also suggest the pumpkin shape, had recently been introduced to Roman architecture. Hadrian certainly had a creative interest in the new architecture of his time, as the many fanciful and original constructions of his villa at Tibur suggest. If Dio is correct in saying that Hadrian claimed to know everything, we may easily believe that he was more than a dilettante in architecture. The incident took place when Trajan and Apollodorus were discussing plans for the great public works in Rome; probably it should be dated during or just after the Dacian wars (c. 104-107). At that time Hadrian's status was not clear, which may explain why Apollodorus was so unwise as to take liberties with the future heir to the Empire.

4.3 τοῦ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τῆς τε Ῥώμης ναοῦ The temple of Venus and Roma was the largest of all Roman temples. Its long axis was on a line between the Colosseum (τὸ θέατρον) and the Sacra Via (ἡ εὐρα ὁδός) which ran down into the Roman forum. Two square cellae, each 172 feet on a side, were placed back-to-back, one for Venus facing the Colosseum, the other for Roma facing west toward the Forum Romanum. The temple itself was decastyle (there were ten columns across each face), while the high podium on which the temple stood was lined with columns. Some remains of the fourth-century reconstruction of the temple

can still be seen (Nash, Pictorial Dictionary, II, 496-499). For a reconstruction of the temple in its surroundings, cf. Bigot, Rome Antique, 33, 43. An analysis of the style of ornamentation shows that Apollodorus was not the architect; he was replaced by the architect who had been responsible for the Trajaneum in Pergamon (cf. D. Strong, PBSR 21 (1953), 120, 122, 137-138). The cult of Venus and Roma was Hadrian's particular contribution to Roman state religion: a natural progression from Augustus' introduction of Roma as an object of worship in the provinces. According to Athenaeus (Deip.VIII, 361) the festival of the Parilia had been renamed the Romaia under Hadrian and reinstituted to coincide with the erection of Hadrian of the temple which honored the city (i.e., the temple of Venus and Roma). The Parilia or shepherd festival was celebrated on April 21, which was believed to be the birthday of the city (cf. Lewis & Short, s.v. Palilia). Coins issued in 121 (BMC III, p. 282, no. 333; p. 422, no. 1242) seem to commemorate a very special celebration of the birthday of the city in that year. If this information is taken together, the constitution of the temple should be securely dated to April 21, 121. The only firm evidence for the date of the temple's actual construction are brickstamps dating from 123 and 134 (cf. Beaujeu, Religion Romaine, 129). Jerome (who is not very trustworthy) dates the construction to the year 131 (Chron. a. 2146). The temple was probably dedicated c. 136/137, following Strack's analysis of the coin evidence (cf. BMC III, p. 476, no. 1554). However, more coins appear under Antoninus Pius, c. 140-143 (BMC IV, p. 206, no. 1284), suggesting that the temple was only finally completed then.

4.4 τὸ θέατρον The "theatre" referred to was the Flavian amphitheater, or Colosseum, which the cella of Venus faced.

4.5 ἐς ἀδιόρθωτον ἁμαρτίαν Hadrian's error could not be corrected, which implies that the construction had gone fairly far. The height of the podium would have been established fairly early in the construction. (Although the podium was quite high at the east end toward the Colosseum and there was an open space beneath, which was possibly used for storing the theatre's machinery (cf. Nash, Pict. Dict. II, 496), this height only existed at the east end due to the slope of the site.)

4.6 τὸν γοῦν Ὀμηρον καταλύων Cf. note 69.3.1, p.42 for Antimachos; note 69.3.4 on καταλύω, p. 47.

5 Dio's Evaluation of Hadrian as Emperor

Summary: People censured him for his jealousy and for his officiousness, but he managed affairs otherwise with care, foresight, generosity and justice, not stirring up any war and ending those that were in progress. He also trained the army with great precision and aided the cities with munificence. He saw many of them, more than any other Emperor, and he aided all of them, giving some a water supply, others harbors, grain, public works or other honors.

5.1 τὸ τε περίεργον The form means "superstition", cf. 69.11.3 (see note).

5.1 τῷ μῆτε τινὰ πόλεμον ταραῖσαι καὶ τοὺς ὄντας παῦσαι All the ancient sources agree that Hadrian wanted peace, and the shorter the summary of Hadrian's work the more outstanding is this aspect. Cf. Pausanias 1.5.5; καὶ ἐς μὲν πόλεμον οὐδένα ἐκούσιος κατέστη. Fronto also witnesses to Hadrian's peaceful character, although he has reservations about its work (Princ. Hist. 10, 11). Hadrian was pacisque magis quam belli cupidus (H.A. Hadrian 10.1). Similar statements are found in Aurelius Victor (Caes. 14.1) and in the Epitome (14.10). Eutropius exaggerates Hadrian's success: Pacem tamen omni imperii sui tempore habuit (8.7.1). Although there were no aggressive military expeditions during Hadrian's reign (H.A. Hadrian 21.8), there were several serious wars. The situation was particularly threatening on his accession (cf. Fronto, Hadriano imperium obtinente quantum militum ab Iudaeis quantum ab Britannis caesum (De Bell. Parth. 2). Hadrian immediately gave up Trajan's conquests rather than continue the Parthian war (H.A. Hadrian 5.1,3). Armenia again became a client kingdom (ibid. 21.11). The revolts of Jews in Egypt, Libya and Cyrene which had begun in 115, when they were enflamed by the resistance of Jews in Parthia to Trajan's attempt at conquest, still raged (cf. Fuks, JRS 1961, 98-104; Fraser, JRS 40 (1950) 77-90; Reynolds, PCPhS N.S. V (1958-59) 24-28; Smallwood, Historia 11 (1962), 500-510. According to Dio (69.8.1), the rioting in Alexandria was ended by a letter from Hadrian. Libya was laid waste during this Jewish revolt (Orosius 7.12), and Jerome (Chron. a. 2137) says that Hadrian founded colonies there. Terrible devastation in Cyrene (cf. Fraser, op. cit.) was followed by rebuilding at Hadrian's command (cf. Smallwood nos. 59 and 60, dated 118/119).

There were revolts among the Sarmatians and in Mauretania in 118 (H.A. Hadrian 5.2 and see notes, 69.2.5, p.33, 35; 69.18.). Trouble in Britain, which continued throughout Hadrian's reign, was particularly severe in 119 (H.A. Hadrian 5.2, cf. E. Birley, Roman Britain 28-38). Trouble briefly threatened again in Mauretania c. 122 and in Parthia shortly after (H.A. Hadrian 12.7-8). The most serious conflicts took place in Britain and in the Jewish war of 132-135; while Dio is the main source for the Jewish war (cf. 69.12-14), the epitomes of Dio do not even mention Britain except as the former post of the great general Julius Severus, (69.13.2).

Hadrian always minimized war in his propaganda (cf. H.A. Hadrian 21.8: bella etiam silentio paene transacta). Even in the troubled early years of the reign, few coins commemorated battles or victories (Strack, 46). In marked contrast with other Emperors, Hadrian never took a triumphal title (cf. Kneissl, Siegestitulatur, Hypomnemata 23) only accepting the title Imperator II at the end of the Jewish wars (see note, 69.14.3, p. 122). When possible, Hadrian maintained peace by a combined policy of military readiness and calculated generosity (cf. Dio 69.9.5-6). Outside the boundaries of the Empire, he did not hesitate to buy friendship (regibus multis plurimum detulit, a plerique vero etiam pacem redemit... (H.A. Hadrian 17.10-12, also cf. 17.5). Financial negotiations with the king of the Roxolani in 118 settled the disturbance there (H.A. Hadrian 6.8). In 122 another threat of war with Parthia was also settled by negotiation (ibid. 12.8). On his second journey, in 129, he held a convention of allied kings in Samosata, and was very generous to

those who attended; he also took the opportunity to appease the king of Parthia (ibid. 13.8-9, cf. John Malalas, Migne, Patr. Gr. 97, 278).

5.1 μήτε τινὸς χρήματα ἀδίκως ἀφελέσθαι There were no mass proscriptions under Hadrian, who did not allow the charge of maiestas (H.A. Hadrian 18.4). Furthermore, the heirs of those who were proscribed were not pauperized; cf. Dio 69.23.3 and H.A. Hadrian 18.3. As a symbolic gesture, the money taken went into the aerarium (the public treasury) rather than into the imperial fiscus (ibid. 7.7). Beyond this, Hadrian did not accept bequests from people he did not know, or even from people he knew who had sons (ibid. 18.5).

5.1-2 καὶ πολλοῖς...χαρίσασθαι, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀνέμενεν αἰτηθῆναι

This statement of Hadrian's generosity is echoed by H.A. Hadrian 15.1; amicos ditavit et quidem non petentes, cum petentibus nil negaret. Dio however, covers the whole range of Hadrian's benefactions, including those to communities (δήμοις; see note, 69.5.3, for benefactions to cities). The Vita states plainly that Hadrian's intent was to incur gratitude (ad colligendam autem gratiam; H.A. Hadrian 7.6). Several instances of personal benefits are found in the Vita: he paid a living to bankrupt senators in accordance with the number of their children (H.A. Hadrian 7.9; conferred livings on needy women (7.11); gave money to people who were impoverished through no fault of their own (22.9); conferred positions and money not only on his friends but to various other men (7.11); and outfitted those he appointed to military service (17.2).

5.2 καὶ τὰ τε στρατιωτικὰ See note, Dio 69,9, for Hadrian's military reforms.

5.2-3 καὶ τὰς πόλεις...διδούς I know of no comprehensive study of public works donated by Hadrian to the cities, but an enormous amount of evidence exists. D'Orgeval, L'Empereur Hadrien, 269-276, has collected some of this, and Smallwood has a short section on public works, but neither distinguish between works which are simply contemporary and those which are gifts of the Emperor. The following treatment does not attempt to be exhaustive.

During Hadrian's reign he held office in towns both Italian and provincial (H.A. Hadrian 19.1). His origo, Italica in Baetica, was one of these towns, and there was tremendous rebuilding there during Hadrian's reign (Dio 69.10.1; Garcia Y Bellido, in Les Empereurs Romains d'Espagne, 7-26). Possibly the cities who appointed Hadrian to magistracies expected to elicit special benefits in this way. Athens, which had elected Hadrian archon while he was still a private citizen (ILS 308), certainly profited (see notes, 69,16, pp. 130-135). As Dio implies, many of Hadrian's major gifts were made on his travels, as he saw each town's needs (cf. Fronto: eius itinerum monumenta videas per plurimas Asiae atque Europae urbes, Princ. Hist. 10). Public works in Campanian towns donated by Hadrian after his travels there in 119 or 120 are indicated by inscriptions (see table on p. 64; cf. H.A. Hadrian 9.6). Ostia received money for a bath (Smallwood no. 386, dated 139). Benefactions were recieved by cities in Gaul when he traveled there in 121

and 122 (H.A. Hadrian 10.1; Dio mentions the basilica built in honor of Plotina, 69.10.3). The largest benefits seem to have been received by the cities of Greece and Asia Minor, although less favored places were not ignored. For instance, aqueducts were built at Sarmizegetusa in Dacia (Smallwood no. 394) and at Caesarea in Judaea (ibid., no. 398), both by military garrisons. In Egypt, the city of Antinoopolis was built from the ground up (see note, Dio 69.11.3). Pausanias refers to Hadrian's gifts to Greek cities several times: a list of benefits to Greek cities was inscribed in Athens in the temple of all the gods (1.5.5.) Pausanias also mentions a temple at Megara given by Hadrian (1.42.5), a bath and water-supply at Corinth (2.3.5), a sanctuary outside Mantinea (8.10.12), a temple at Abae (10.35.4), and a portico at Hyampolis (10.35.6). According to Pausanias, Hadrian succeeded in making all of Greece prosperous except Megara (1.36.3). There is an inscription in Athens to Hadrian from the people of Alexandria Troias (Troadenses) commemorating the benefits they had received from Hadrian (Smallwood no. 490, dated 132): these benefits perhaps include the scandalous profits Herodes Atticus allowed the town in the building of an aqueduct; the expense mounted to seven million drachmas before the Emperor protested (Phil. VS II.1, 548). Benefactions to Antioch included a new water supply and a theater (John Malalas 278, Migne, Patr. Gr. 97; cf. Downey, History of Antioch, 221-223). Ephesus seems to have been particularly favored by Hadrian. Besides the transport of grain from Egypt and a rebuilt harbor (diverting the river Cayster to stop the silting-up process), the city goddess, Artemis (or the temple), received new legal rights (Smallwood no. 494, dated 129 A.D.). The sophist Polemo used his influence on

behalf of Smyrna (IGR IV 1431); the money Hadrian donated (one million drachmas) bought the city a corn-market, a gymnasium and a temple (Phil. VS I.25, 531). Great rebuilding in Nicaea and Nicomedia followed a severe earthquake early in Hadrian's reign. Nicaea also received an aqueduct (Smallwood, no. 456; Jerome (Chron. a. 2136). Hadrian considered the public works and financial benefits he gave to the provinces one of the outstanding accomplishments of his reign, as the great coin series which names him RESTITUTOR attests. Such coins were issued for Achaia, Africa, Arabia, Asia, Bithynia, Gallia, Hispania, Italia, Judaea, Libya, Macedonia, Phrygia, Sicilia and Nicomedia (BMC III, pp. 349-52; they were part of the coin issues of c. 134-138, which summed up the accomplishments of Hadrian's reign.

Besides financial benefits, Hadrian granted the request of many cities for municipal or colonial status. For example, Italica received colonial status (Aulus Gellius, NA 16, 13.4); Parium in Mysia named him conditor col(oniae) (Smallwood no. 491); Choba conditor municipii (ibid. no. 512); various other cities named him saviour, founder and benefactor for no obvious reason (cf. list in Perret, Titulature, 49).

5.2 τὰς πόλεις τὰς τε συμμαχίδας καὶ τὰς ὑπηκόους Cary

translates "the allied and subject cities" (Dio VIII, p. 435, Loeb).

Dio's usage of these terms shows that in his own day (early third century) the meaningful contrast was between the city of Rome and her subjects (cf. Dio 53.19.5; 70.31; 74(75).4.5). In his historical narrative

of the Empire up to Hadrian's time, however, he usually contrasts the Romans in the city, the allies in Italy and the subject peoples (among the last one can identify Alexandria, 66.8.4; Dacia, 68.14.3 and Arabia Petraea, 68.14.5). Occasionally the allies are not specified as being in Italy (cf. 59.21.3). In a parallel usage, ἑνσπονδον is substituted for σύμμαχος (cf. 57.2.5). It seems reasonable, therefore, to postulate that "allied" cities were cities with the title municipium (which gave ius Latii) or colonia (ius Italicum), since this was originally a form of treaty between the Romans and another city.

5.3 πολλὰς μὲν γὰρ εἶδεν αὐτῶν Half of Hadrian's reign was spent outside Rome, in more travel than any other emperor attempted (ὅσος οὐδεὶς ἄλλος αὐτοκράτωρ; almost the same words in H.A. Hadrian 13.5; also cf. 17.8; 23.1). Fronto noted that the evidence of Hadrian's travels could be found everywhere (Princ. Hist. 10). Dio 69.9-10 is a fragmentary account of Hadrian's first journey in 121-125, and there are references to the second journey in 69.11-16, but these serve only as occasional corroboration to the major source, the Vita (H.A. Hadrian 10.1-14.5). That source is deficient, not only on account of its brevity, but because it breaks off in the middle of the second voyage (a. 130), leaving Hadrian in Egypt. An enormous mass of evidence of varying degrees of trustworthiness supplements the Vita--inscriptions which imply Hadrian's presence, fragmentary glimpses in various authors, and coins. Weber used this information at great length to work out an itinerary for Hadrian's journeys (Untersuchungen, 98-276; his outline summary of the journeys (277-279) is more dependable). Henderson (Life and Princi-

pate, 283-294) lists the evidence he accepts in regard to Hadrian's journeys and comes to a few tentative conclusions. A reconstructed itinerary, documented by inscriptional evidence, may be found in D'Orgeval (L'Empereur Hadrien, 23-27). Magie has also worked out itineraries for Asia Minor during Hadrian's first and second journeys (RRAM, pp. 613-621).

There were two major Hadrianic journeys, from 121-125, and from 128-c. 132. On the first journey Hadrian was particularly concerned with the army (H.A. Hadrian 10; Dio 69.9) and with immediate crises. He seemed intent on covering the whole Empire--ἅλλην ἀπ' ἅλλης διασιττόμενος ἐπαρχίας-(Dio 69.9.1)--starting in the west and then coasting along the shore of Africa to the Greek east, possibly returning by way of the Danube. His second major journey, this time to the Greek east, began in 128. Possibly his visit to the front of the Jewish war was a consecutive part of this journey.

Hadrian's Travels as Emperor

Date	Place	Evidence
Aug. 11, 117	Antioch	in Antioch, Dio 69.2.1 dated, H.A. <u>Hadrian</u> 4.7
Nov. 11, 117	Juliopolis in Bithynia	letter from Hadrian to Pergamum, dated Smallwood no. 61
(spring, 118)	on the Danube	dated by chronology, H.A. <u>Hadrian</u> 6.7-8
summer, 118	Rome	Hadrian was present at a sacrifice of the Fratres Arvales, either June 8 or July 10, 118, cf. Smallwood no. 6, col. II, line 30 (<u>Acta Fratrum Arvalium</u>)

Date	Place	Evidence
(119-121)	Campania	H.A. <u>Hadrian</u> 9.6 several dedications, dated 121, of works constructed by Hadrian, cf. <u>CIL</u> X 6652, Antium; 6939, road near Naples; 6940, Naples; 4574, temple at Caiatia
April 21, 121	Rome	coin commemorating special games for <u>natalis urbis</u> , dated 121, <u>BMC</u> III, p. 282, no. 333
<u>Beginning of First Journey</u>		
(121)	Gaul	H.A. <u>Hadrian</u> 10.1
(121)	Germany	H.A. <u>Hadrian</u> 10.2
(spring, 122)	Britain	H.A. <u>Hadrian</u> 11.2, (H.A. <u>Hadrian</u> 16.3), <u>CIL</u> VII 498, remains of speech (?) praising army
(Summer, 122)	Gaul Nemausus	H.A. <u>Hadrian</u> 12.1 Dio 69.10.3
winter, (122/123)	Spain & Tarraco	H.A. <u>Hadrian</u> 12.3
(123)	Libya	he colonized there, Orosius 7.12; Jerome (<u>Chron.</u> a. 2137)
(123)	Asia	H.A. <u>Hadrian</u> 13.1, reconstructed <u>RRAM</u> , 613-617
(124)	Ephesus	Hadrian mentions first visit in a letter, Smallwood no. 72a, lines 10-11
(124)	Rhodes	Hadrian's letter to Ephesus, mentions that he left there for Rhodes Smallwood, no. 72a, lines 10-11; John Malalas 279

Date	Place	Evidence
(124)	islands	H.A. <u>Hadrian</u> 13.1; cf. <u>CIL III.S 7371</u> , Samothrace, inscription to <u>REGIBUS IOV[E ET HERA...]</u> , dated 123
(124/125)	Achaia	H.A. <u>Hadrian</u> 13.1. Hadrian made a dedication to Hebe in Corinth, Pausanias 2.7.6; wrote an inscription for the tomb of Epaminondas, 8.11.8; restored horse-races to the Nemean games, 6.16.4; also 1.42.5; 1.44.6; 2.3.5; 8.10.12; 10.35.4; 10.35.6 (see p. 60 for details). Some may belong to Hadrian's visit to Greece in 132.
125	Epidaurus	inscription of year 10 years after H's visit and 3 years after founding of Panhellenion (132), Smallwood no. 79
spring,(125)	Athens	<u>agonothete</u> , H.A. <u>Hadrian</u> 13.1
March,(125)	mysteries at Eleusis	lower level of initiation, H.A. <u>Hadrian</u> 13.1; cf. Smallwood no. 71a
spring,(125)	Sicily	climbed Mt. Aetna after leaving Eleusis, H.A. <u>Hadrian</u> 13.3
<u>End of First Journey</u>		
March 1,127	Rome	dated letter to Stratonicaea-Hadriano-polis, <u>SIG⁴ 837</u>
July,127	travelling in Italy	Smallwood, no.24, <u>Fasti Ostienses</u> , lines 14-15
July 1,128	Lambaesis in Africa	H's speeches to soldiers, Smallwood no. 328, dated; H.A. <u>Hadrian</u> 13.4,6
summer,128	Rome	returned from Africa, H.A. <u>Hadrian</u> 13.6
<u>Beginning of Second Journey</u>		
(fall,128)	Athens	from Rome he went directly (<u>statim</u>) to Athens, H.A. <u>Hadrian</u> 13.6; dedication of Olympleion, <u>ibid.</u> 13.8
(Sept.,128)	Eleusis	he was initiated into the highest grade of the mysteries, Dio 69.11.1; he came to Ephesus from Eleusis, Smallwood no.72a, line 12, dated 129

Date	Place	Evidence
129	Ephesus	letter of Hadrian to Ephesus, mentioning recent visit; he came there from Eleusis, Smallwood no. 72a, dated 129, lines 9-12
(129)	<u>per Asias</u>	after Athens, H.A. <u>Hadrian</u> 13.6
129	Laodicaea on the Lycus	letter of Hadrian written from Laodicaea on the Lycus, where he had arrived from Caria, dated 129 Smallwood, no. 72; travels in Asia Minor reconstructed by Magie, <u>RRAM</u> , 618-621
(129)	Cappadocia	H.A. <u>Hadrian</u> 13.7
(129)	Antioch	H.A. Hadrian 14.1; repeated visits to Antioch, John Malalas 278
(129)	Samosata	meeting of Eastern kings, H.A. <u>Hadrian</u> 13.9
(spring, 130)	Gerasa (Decapolis)	triumphal arch; Smallwood no. 76, dated 130
(spring, 130)	Palestine	Dio 69.12-1-2; H.A. Hadrian 14.2-3
(130)	Arabia	H.A. <u>Hadrian</u> 14.4
130	Egypt	Pelusium, H.A. <u>Hadrian</u> 14.4 coin of Alexandria, <u>BMC Alex.</u> , p. 101, no. 867, for the year between Aug. 29, 129 & Aug. 28, 130; coin for following year, <u>ibid.</u> no. 868; itinerary in Sijpesteijn, <u>Historia</u> 18 (1969) 109-118
Nov. 21(130)	Thebes on the Nile	H.A. Hadrian 14.5 Julia Balbilla's poem on Memnon, Smallwood no. 75, dated Nov. 21.

Date	Place	Evidence
131/132	Gaza	coin recording visit of the god Marnas, Smallwood, no. 78, dated 131/2
March/April, 131	Palmyra	inscription recording reception of the Emperor and his army, dated March/April, 131, Smallwood no. 77
(spring, 131)	Syria	Dio 69.12.2
(131)	Black Sea	Arrian, Periplus I.1, argued by Magie, <u>RRAM</u> , 621.
(132)	Athens	eponymous archon, Dio 69.16.1 presided at Dionysia (Feb./March), Dio 69.16.1
(132)	Mantineia	founded rites for Antinous, Paus. VIII.9.7
(132)	Delphi	archon there for the second time <u>SIG</u> ⁴ 836.
(132)	Sparta	inscr. at Sparta honours the magistrate who managed affairs so well on the emperor's <u>second</u> visit
<u>End of Second Journey (?)</u>		
between 132&135	Judaea	see note, Dio 69.14.3
May 5, 134	Rome	<u>CIG</u> 5906

Dates in parentheses are suggested by the chronology of the Vita or other ancient sources.

Hadrian coined little during his travels, but near the end of his reign he issued several famous series of coins honoring national areas. Because these coins were issued between c. 134-138, they can give no chronological information about Hadrian's travels, but they do provide confirmation of their extent, particularly the series with the legend ADVENTUI AUG(usti), which includes coins for Africa, Alexandria, Arabia, Asia, Bithynia, Britannia, Cilicia, Gallia, Hispania, Italia, Macedonia, Mauretania, Moesia, Noricum, Phrygia, Sicilia and Thracia (BMC III, pp. 487-496). Macedonia, Noricum and Thracia therefore need to be added to the list of places Hadrian visited.

6 Hadrian's Relations with the Plebs

Summary: Hadrian led the Roman commons with dignity. Once he did not distribute what they were demanding during a gladiatorial display and even ordered the herald to give an order for silence, but the herald raised his hand and calmed them as they were accustomed. Hadrian was not angry, but honored the herald, as he had not expressed the bad feeling of the order. When a woman made a request on the road, he first told her he had no time, but when she shouted out "Then don't be Emperor!", he turned about and gave her his opinion.

Dio tells these two stories to support his statement that Hadrian was a dignified ruler who did not pander to the plebs but was not totally inflexible. The first story may be accurate, but the second is seriously doubtful (see note, 69.6.3).

6.1 ἦγε δὲ καὶ τὸν δῆμον Hadrian was accessible and kindly in his dealings with the plebs (H.A. Hadrian 20.1; the tone of another passage is mildly mocking: fuit et plebis iactantissimus amator, ibid. 17.8). Hadrian's propaganda implies that he wished to be thought of as the disciplined and disinterested servant of his subjects. Of new coin legends under Hadrian (cf. Syme, Tacitus, 755), indulgentia, patientia and tranquillitas refer to the moral virtues of the Emperor himself. These are Stoic virtues. They are part of an imperial ideology, much influenced by Stoicism, which had grown up and can be seen in the orations of Dio of Prusa on kingship (1-3) and in Pliny's Panegyric (cf. Beranger's Study, Recherches sur l'aspect ideologique du principat).

6.1-2 καὶ ποτε ἰσχυρῶς αἰτοῦντί...οὐκ ἐξέφησεν The order of silence given by Domitian is found in Suetonius--the crowd was begging him to forgive a man he had expelled from the Senate (Domit.13). All the Emperors used festivals and games to maintain their relation with the Roman commons, each one revealing his own personality in his appearances there (cf. Friedlander, Roman Life and Manners II, 1-130, for a detailed account of the place of games in imperial Rome; Suetonius, Caesares, for many interesting incidents). Ordinarily the people expressed themselves freely at shows and expected their wishes to be granted, whether these involved the entertainment or politics (cf. Jos. Ant. Jud. XIX.2.4-6; Martial, de spec. 20). Hadrian also refused the people on another occasion when they asked for a charioteer's freedom (Dio 69.16.3). Dio states that Hadrian did not punish the herald for his disobedience to underline that Hadrian, while strict, was not

harsh. Hadrian was fairly generous with games in Rome (H.A. Hadrian 19.4-8), giving games at Trajan's death (Dio 69.2); to celebrate his own birthday in 119 (Dio 69.8.2); and at the death of his mother-in-law Matidia (H.A. Hadrian 9.9; 19.5). Two fragments of the Fasti Ostienses (Smallwood nos. 24 and 25) record more games, including ten days of games for Hadrian's decennalia in 127.

6.3 ἔφερε γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ οὐκ ἠγανάκτει The phrase is echoed in Dio 55.7.2-3: Augustus was prevented by Maecenas from condemning some people to death, but he did not resent it (οὐ γὰρ ὅπως ἠγανάκτει τοῖς τοιοῦτοις) but even appreciated the frankness of his friends.

6.3 γυναικὸς παρίοντος As Beranger has pointed out (ERE, 33) the same story is told of Demetrius Poliorcetes by Plutarch (Demetr. 42.3-4). The wording is so similar as to imply a common source. The story there emphasizes the duty of the βασιλεύς to care for his people. In Dio, the context changes the emphasis to Hadrian's patientia--he was not angered by the woman's rudeness. People did, however, expect to be able to approach the Emperor for a hearing, even informally; for instance, Vespasian had once been waylaid through a bribe to a muleteer (cf. Suet. Vesp. 23).

7 Hadrian's Relations with Senators

Summary: Hadrian managed everything important through the Senate, judged cases in public with the help of the leading men, and honored the

consuls. He returned home in a litter so as not to trouble anyone to accompany him. Similarly on days which were neither festivals nor days for public business he stayed at home and did not receive anyone. He always kept the best men around him, visited friends when they were sick, was at home in their homes, and set up statues of many in the Forum. None of his friends were arrogant or revealed information as had been the case with earlier Emperors.

Except for one difficulty (see note, 69.7.3), the passage is more consistent than it seems at first glance, since the same Senators, consuls and best people were also Hadrian's friends. The Latin word amicus, when used in relation to the Emperor, meant "influential advisor"; the meaning of "friend" was secondary (cf. H.A. Hadrian 3.10; 15.1-8: Crook in Consilium Principis, uses the designation amicus to determine membership in the Imperial consilium). Hadrian fulfilled a Stoic ideal of kingship by having only the best men as friends and advisors (cf. Dio of Prusa, Or. III. 128-29; Pliny, Pan. 45); he also treated them with care and respect in accordance with the Stoic ideal of friendship (cf. Pliny, Pan. 85-86). The passage implies that through the greater part of Hadrian's reign there was mutual satisfaction between the Emperor and the Senate.

7.1 ἔπραττε δὲ καὶ διὰ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου πάντα τὰ μεγάλα

Dio emphasizes that Hadrian gave the Senate authority in the most important affairs. The only indication of this is that Hadrian prohibited appeals to the Emperor on cases which had been tried by the Senate (Dig.

49.2.1.2, cf. discussion in Bellen, ZRG 79 (1962) 143-168). In fact, the second century was a period of stability in regard to the relation of Emperor and Senate (cf. Pflaum, REL 42 (1964), 112-121, for political tendencies in the second century). However, the slow and subtle process of change in the status of the Senate continued. By the time of Hadrian, one-half of the Senate was of non-Italian descent (cf. Hammond, JRS 47 (1957) 79). Aelius Aristides, under Antoninus Pius, praised the Senate (in his speech εἰς Πόμην) because it was made up of the most aristocratic and talented men of the Empire (cf. Oliver, The Ruling Power, TAPhA N.S. 43.4, p. 893), not so much for what it accomplished. Hadrian treated the Senate, as a body and as individuals, with great respect (cf. H.A. Hadrian 8.1, 6-8, 11), but he actually decreased its powers. For some time, he took Italian cases away from Senate jurisdiction, by dividing Italy into four areas to be assigned to specific judges (cf. H.A. Antoninus 2.11; 3.1; Appian, BC I.38). Hadrian also increased imperial intervention in the proconsular provinces, especially by his codification of the edict (the statement of policy issued by each magistrate, cf. Pringsheim, JRS 26 (1934), 141-153). Hadrian was responsible for the organization of an equestrian cursus, which included the heights of the imperial bureaucracy, and indirectly reduced the pre-eminence of the Senate (cf. Lacey, Equestrian Officials, 38-45). Dio, however, seems to be unaware of these developments and especially of Hadrian's responsibility for them.

7.1 καὶ ἐδίδναζε μετὰ τῶν πρώτων For a description of the Emperor's court under Hadrian, cf. Crook, Consilium Principis, esp.

56-65; also Millar, JRS 57 (1967) 9-19, who emphasizes each Emperor's personal handling of the cases, many of them trivial, which came before him. The Vita mentions Hadrian's court several times; it met both at Rome and in the provinces, when the Emperor was there; (H.A. Hadrian 22.11) included highly trained legal specialists (ibid. 18.1); and also included knights, who were excluded from decisions on Senators (ibid. 8.8-9). This last must refer to the praetorian prefects, who were equestrians, and later known to be members of the consilium; perhaps their exclusion from decisions on Senators was due to Attianus' responsibility in the death of the four consulars (see note, 69.2.6).

7.1 καὶ τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν... Cf. H.A. Hadrian 9.7, Romae vero praetorum et consulum officia frequentavit. The construction of Dio's sentence implies that lending his presence was interpreted as an honor to these officials. This went beyond Trajan's policy of careful avoidance of influencing or interfering in consular decisions (Plin. Pan. 93). Hadrian's purpose was to affirm consular authority. Similarly, he honored consuls at games, probably by letting them preside, on the model of Caligula (Suet. Gaius 18). Hadrian also protected the dignity of the consulship by holding the post only three times. During the two consulships he held as Emperor he shared the honor with several other men; as many as four in 118 (Cn. Pedanius Fuscus Salinator, the husband of Hadrian's niece Julia; Tebanianus in March (?); Libo in April; Ummidius Quadratus in May); while consul ordinarius III in 119 (he held the post for four months, H.A. Hadrian 8.5), he shared the fascēs with P. Dasumius Rusticus and A. Platorius Nepos (cf. Degraasi, p. 35). The Vita states that many people held iterated consulships under Hadrian, (H.A. Hadrian

8.4), however, only two men are known to have held a third consulship during Hadrian's reign; they are M. Annius Verus, the grandfather of the future Emperor Marcus Aurelius, in 126 (cos. II, 121, Degrassi, p. 35, 36); and Hadrian's brother-in-law, Servianus, in 134 at the age of 88 (cos. II, 102, Degrassi, p. 38, 31). (The consular fasti for Hadrian's reign are incomplete except for 127 and 128.) Dio and the Vita agree that Hadrian treated the consuls with respect.

7.2 καὶ οἴκαθε...ἵνα μὴ πάνυ ταλαιπωροῦντο The morning salutatio (a visit to show respect to and receive instructions from the patron, cf. Suet. Vesp. 21; Pliny, Ep. III.5.9, under Domitian) and the custom of thronging around a patron were inherited from the Roman republican patron-client relationship. Epictetus has an amusing passage on the wretched condition of being a "friend of Caesar", liable to these dutiful appearances (Epictetus IV.1.46-50; under Domitian). Trajan had a policy of open house at all times, which had been praised by Pliny (Pan. 47-49), but had probably proven impractical. Hadrian acted to lighten obligations which were burdensome for himself as well as his subjects. By traveling in a litter, which could be closed (cf. Juvenal, Sat. I, 124), he allowed people to part from him without seeming disrespect. Hadrian received on days which were fasti (suitable for business = δημοσίαις) and on festival dates (ἑορταῖς) cf. OCD², dies fasti. On days which fit neither category, the morning salutatio was not held.

7.3 This section is confused. Boissevain amplified the text here from Petrus Patricius (Exc. Vat. 107; the texts are compared in Boissevain,

Dio III, 228. The lines added are καὶ πλείονα ἐσιτεῖτο, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ δικάζων μεταξὺ τροφῆς μετελάμβανεν. The lines in that manuscript (Exc. Vat.) belonged not to this section, but to Hadrian's work with the army (corresponding to Xiphilinus 69.9; they continue from lines very similar to those found in Xiph. 69.9.3 about Hadrian preferring to walk or ride rather than use a carriage). Petrus Patricius continues: καὶ μετὰ πάντων ἡρίστα καὶ ἐδείπνει, καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ συσσίτιον παντοδαπῶν λόγων πλήρες. This line is parallel to ἔπειτα μετὰ πάντων τῶν πρώτων καὶ ἀρίστων ἐδείπνει, which appears in Xiphilinus at 69.7.3, in sound if not in meaning. As Boissevain uses Xiphilinus as his basic text, the preceding lines in Exc. Vat. (107) were taken from their (military) context and inserted here. It seems clear that this is not the solution. The text of Petrus Patricius belongs to the military context. In fact, the whole section ἐθῆρα δὲ ὁσάκις ἐνεδέχετο...τὸ συσσίτιον παντοδαπῶν λόγων πλήρες actually should be details of Hadrian's visit to the army in Germany in 122. H.A. Hadrian 10, which corresponds in subject matter to Dio 69.9, includes similar details, for instance that Hadrian shared the soldier's fare (10.2). Many decisions were made at this time by the Emperor in regard to army conditions (Dio's δικάζων; cf. H.A. Hadrian 10.3,6-8). Perhaps Xiphilinus did not realize that section 69.7 has a specific subject--Hadrian's relations with the amici--and is not merely a general account of his character, and therefore expanded the section with details from elsewhere in Dio.

7.3 ἐθήρα For Hadrian's enthusiasm for hunting, see note, 69.10.2.

7.3 ἀεὶ τε περὶ ἑαυτὸν...πολλάκις ὤχεϊτο. These lines seem to belong to the context of 69.7. Note the parallel in the Vita (conviviis amicorum interfuit, H.A. Hadrian 9.7). He also showed his respect for Senators by standing to receive them at his own dinners (ibid. 22.4). In contrast, imperial banquets had once been a source of psychological torture for the Emperor's intimates (cf. Pliny, Pan. 49; Suetonius, Caesares, passim).

7.4 τοὺς δὲ πάνυ νοσοῦντας The sentiment is echoed by the Vita, which states that as well as senatorial amici, ailing knights and freedmen received personal attention. More explicit in drawing the moral, the Vita adds: omnia denique ad privati hominis modum fecit (cf. H.A. Hadrian 9.7-8). Remembering sick friends was a touchstone of the Stoic ideal of friendship (cf. Seneca, Ep. 9.8; Ep. 66: virtue, not health and strength, determines friendship).

7.4 ὅθεν καὶ εἰκόνας... Everyone of any note could expect to be honored by a statue--for instance, the Athenians raised a bronze statue to honor the sophist Favorinus, which they tore down after his altercation with Hadrian (Phil. VS I, 490). A statue raised by the Emperor himself was a far greater honor. Trajan had honored Sosius, Palma and Celsus in this way (Dio 68.16.2). About Hadrian we know only that he honored Turbo and Similis with statues (Dio 69.18.1; they were praetorian prefects) and wrote the inscription for a statue of Catilius Severus

(for Severus, see note 69.21.1; for the inscription, Kaibel, Epigr. Gr. 888a). (The colossal statues raised to Aelius Caesar, the chosen heir (H.A. Aelius 7.1), have a different meaning, while, as Dio says, statues of Antinous were images for worship, Dio 69.11.4). Reimarius suggested that the ἀγορά may be Trajan's Forum (Boissevain, Dio III, p. 228, n. on line 16), but there is no specific reason to accept this.

7.4 οὔτε ἐξῆβρισέ τις Dio is referring to an important administrative change which took place under Hadrian. The Emperor's own staff had once been recruited from his freedmen. Pliny had praised Trajan for keeping his freedmen under control (Pan. 88), but Hadrian took the necessity even more seriously, putting high-ranking equestrians in charge of the imperial secretariats. This process is described by Weaver, Historia 14 (1965) 460-469 and by Lacey, Equestrian Officials, 38-41.

8.1 ταῦτα περὶ γε τοῦ τρόπου...μνημονεύεσθαι Dio marks a dividing line between material meant to illustrate Hadrian's character, with no chronological base, and the material which follows, which shows some signs of annalistic form (especially from 69.8.1a-11.4 according to Millar, Cassius Dio, 66). Dio, who is not a rigid annalist, shows the influence of the Roman biographical method, which described the birth-place and background of the subject, listed his virtuous accomplishments and contrasted his vitia, then gave a dramatic account of his death—particularly evident in Suetonius, Caesares). Up to this point, Dio has given us Hadrian's background (69.1-2.4), his vitia (69.2.5-69.4), compressed his larger accomplishments into one chapter (69.5), added his

Stoic virtues (69.6-7), and now embarks on an annalistic history of the reign, saving Hadrian's dramatic death for the last chapters of the book (69.22-23).

8.1a Trouble in Alexandria (118) (?)

Summary: When the Alexandrians revolted they were not stopped until they received a letter of Hadrian censuring them.

This small section is not in Xiphilinus and Zonaras, but is supplemented from the text of Petrus Patricius (Exc. Vat. 108). Its placement in the text is not certain, but the beginning of the reign is likely. There was a major revolt in Alexandria which began c. 115 and continued until Hadrian came to power. It was a Jewish uprising and was linked with simultaneous uprisings in Libya, Cyrene and Cyprus, and particularly with the Jewish resistance against Trajan in Parthia (see note, 69.5.1, p. 54). The literary sources for the revolt include Eusebius (Hist. Eccles. 4.2) and Dio 68.32. An edict of the prefect of Egypt πρὸς Ἰουδαίου μάχης prescribes punishment (Smallwood no. 55, dated October 13, 115; also related to this revolt are nos. 56-60). At the time of the rising M. Rutilius Rufus was prefect of Egypt (cf. Stein, Präfecten von Ägypten, 55-57). When he was unable to control the situation, Marcius Turbo was sent in by Trajan, sometime between January and August of 117 (Stein, 58-59). Turbo was successful in quelling the revolt (H.A. Hadrian 5.8), and a new prefect, Rammius Martialis, was in office immediately on Hadrian's accession (in August, 117, Stein, 58,61). If this is the revolt Dio refers to, the incident hardly belongs to Hadrian's reign. However,

Jerome, whose chronology is shaky, states that Hadrian rebuilt Alexandria after a second Jewish revolt (Judaeos capit secundo contra Romanos rebel-lantes), and he dates this to c. 118 (Chron a. 2133). It seems reasonable that the Jewish revolts in Alexandria did not end immediately on Hadrian's accession, and that another uprising soon occurred, which Hadrian ended with a rescript (cf. Weber, 51 Musurillo, Acts of the Pagan Martyrs, 183, sets this revolt in late 117 or early 118). Musurillo's book is a discussion of the fictional court trials of Greek Alexandrians implicated in the riots who defend themselves somewhat impudently before Roman Emperors, attacking the Jews (the Acta Hermaisci, the Trajanic court scenes, and the Acta Pauli et Antonini, which are Hadrianic, are also in Smallwood, nos. 516 and 517). Dio's passage might also refer to another incident early in Hadrian's reign of trouble in Alexandria--this time caused by the discovery of an Apis bull and a quarrel about where it was to be kept (H.A. Hadrian 12.1; the incident is dated to 122 by the chronology of the Vita; see note, 69.5.3, p. 62; the Apis cult is described in Pliny, NH 8.71, 184-187). Although Alexandria was one of the most important cities of the Empire, the coins of Alexandria show clearly that Hadrian did not visit the city until 129/130 (BMC Alexandria, p. 101, no. 867, 868, 870).

8.1² The Debt Remission (118)

Summary: Arriving in Rome he remitted what was owed to the treasury, setting a time limit from which and to which he intended this to be observed.

8.1² ἀφῆκε τὰ ὀφειλόμενα The fact of an enormous debt remission in 118 is well-documented: 1) There is an inscription in Trajan's Forum (Smallwood no. 64, dated 118- tr[ib.] pot. II cos. II). It is dedicated by the Senate and Roman people to Hadrian "who first and only of all the Emperors, by remitting nine hundred million sesterces (novies milies centena milla n(ummum)) owed to the fisci gave security not only to his present citizens but also to their posterity". 2) A sestertius (BMC III, p. 417, no. 1207, dated 119-124/5) has the legend RELIQUA VETERA H.S. Novies Mill. Abolita ("longstanding arrears in the amount of 900 million sesterces abolished"). 3) Dio 69.8.1² is picked up by Dio 71.32.2 from the year 178 in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, who remitted all the debts owed to the treasuries after a space of forty-five years (ἀπὸ ἐτῶν ἕξ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα), "apart from the fifteen years of Hadrian." This confirms the future force of Dio's statement in 69.8.1² (ἐκκαίδεκαετῇ ὀρίσας χρόνον ἀφ' οὗ τε μέχρις οὗ τηρηθήσεσθαι τοῦτ' ἔμελλεν), since Marcus' debt remission was good back to 133, counting back forty-five years from 178, which was the endpoint of the fifteen-year debt remission of Hadrian described by Dio. 4) H.A. Hadrian 7.6: Hadrian remitted an enormous sum of money (infinitam pecuniam) which was owed to the fiscus by private debtors in the city and in Italy, and large sums (ingentes summas) from arrears in the provinces, burning the promissory notes in Trajan's Forum, "in order that the security of all might be increased." 5) Jerome, Chron. a. 2134=119; "Hadrian remitted the arrears of tribute in the cities, burning the records publicly-- plurimos etiam ipsis tributis liberos praestitit"--this last should mean:

"he even freed many from these taxes", but possibly "he maintained many children by these taxes". It seems to paraphrase the inscription in Trajan's Forum (see next page).

All these accounts refer to the same event, and agree on several points.

1) The debt remission involved an enormous sum of money. The sum of 900 million sesterces probably refers to the benefit to Rome and Italy alone (since Roman coins were generally restricted to Roman affairs, Strack, p. 61). This amount was approximately three-fifths of the estimated annual state income under Vespasian (Tenney Frank, Economic Survey V, 53). A comparable sum was the capital loaned on Italian land to finance the alimenta, which has been estimated at something over 1,000,000,000 sesterces (ibid., 66). 2) Hadrian's debt remission was an unprecedented act: the inscription's words 'qui primus omnium principum et solus' prove that it was not a simple repetition of Trajan's remission of debts to the vicesima hereditatium (cf. Pliny, Pan. 37-41). 3) Private debtors in Rome and Italy, who we may assume were Roman citizens, were relieved by the debt remission; on the other hand, the only direct tax to which they were liable, the vicesima hereditatium, does not seem to be involved. It was paid into the aerarium militare (cf. Dio 55.25.5), had been reorganized by Trajan to lighten its burdensomeness, and was efficiently collected under Hadrian (cf. Hirschfeld, Verwaltungsbeamten², 105; Pflaum, Procurateurs Equestres, 61-62). 4) The money involved was perhaps owed to more than one treasury; cf. Smallwood no. 64, debitum fisci; Dio, τῷ τε βασιλικῷ καὶ τῷ δημοσίῳ; against the Vita, quae fisco debebatur. Most of the money in the Empire was handled by

the Imperial fiscus. 5) The act had a subsequent effect: sed et posteror-
eorum praestitit hac liberalitate securos (Smallwood no. 64); Dio mentions
a fifteen-year period which seems to be future in its effect.

It seems possible that the alimenta loan is involved (for the alimenta
scheme of Trajan, cf. Duncan-Jones, PBSR 32 (1964) 123-146; Garnsey,
Historia 17 (1968) 367-381). The original loan, as I mentioned above,
was a sum comparable to Hadrian's debt remission. The purpose of the
alimenta loan was perhaps to aid Italian agriculture, but certainly to
provide the income of funds to support orphans, and therefore the loan
must have been made in perpetuity. However, even the interest liability
lowered the value of the land encumbered. By 118, approximately fifteen
years after the scheme began (cf. Duncan-Jones, p. 126) the Italian
landowners involved must have realized that they had actually accepted
a tax, as by now they had nearly paid back in interest what they had
received (the interest rate averaged 8%, ibid., 135). The situation
must have caused resentment. I would suggest that the debt was cancelled
and the payments assumed by Hadrian for a period of fifteen years.

(Mommsen has suggested that Marcus Aurelius recovered the capital loan
and took over the payments, Staatsrecht II³, 1083, n. 3, but this allows
the problem to go unresolved too long; furthermore, an attempt to recover
the capital would have been an economic disaster in a depressed economy).
My suggestion agrees with the evidence on several points; 1) the amount
of money involved; 2) the unprecedented nature of the act; 3) the
fact that the debt was owed by Roman citizens in Italy; 4) the fact
that the money may have been owed to more than one treasury: since al-

though the funds for the alimenta were supplied by the Imperial fiscus, the high administrators were chosen from senators (because it involved the administration of Italy); therefore symbolic contributions from the aerarium Saturni could have been expected (cf. Hirschfeld, Verwaltungsbeamten², 220-222); 5) the subsequent effect of the act, in particular that it guaranteed the security of posterity (Smallwood no. 64), which may be supported by either meaning of Jerome's ambiguous statement--plurimos etiam ipsis tributis liberos praestitit. The theory that the debt remission represented the capital loan of the alimenta provides a link between the twin reliefs of the anaglypha Traiani, which Seston identifies respectively with Trajan's alimenta scheme and Hadrian's debt remission (cf. Mél. d'arch. et d'hist. 44 (1927) 154-183). The suggestion that the debt was the alimenta loan has a surprising side effect, since to remit this particular debt would have cost the fiscus nothing. This interpretation is therefore preferable to that of Tenney Frank, who suggests that the 900 million sesterces was provincial tribute (Economic Survey V, 70), since this would be an enormous loss to the state, and would hardly be celebrated by the Senate on coins. However, if Hadrian remitted the capital loan in 118, he could not reasonably have simultaneously granted a remission of the interest on that capital for fifteen years. The basis of the payments would have had to be changed; for instance Hadrian might have taken over the alimenta payments for a period of fifteen years, with the understanding that at the end of this period the payments were to be resumed as a tax by the original loanholders. In fact, the exemption probably created a precedent and tended to remain

in force, for in 178 Marcus Aurelius again remitted debts which seem to be related; and cf. H.A. Pertinax 9.3; "he assumed the responsibility for nine years' arrears of money for the poor which was owed through a statute of Trajan's" (Magie, SHA I,333, Loeb). (Subsequent alimenta schemes seem to be supported directly by the Emperor, cf. H.A. Antoninus 8.1; Marcus 7.8; 11.2).

Provincial tribute was involved in Hadrian's benefactions at this time (H.A. Hadrian 7.6), although the amount was probably not related to the sum of 900 million H.S. which was remitted to Romans. Also, provincial tribute was efficiently estimated and collected, and it is unlikely that enormous amounts were left outstanding, although back payment did exist in the first and second centuries, cf. MacMullen, Aegyptus 38 (1958) 192-193. Hadrian's creation of the advocatus fisci (H.A. Hadrian 20.6) for districts in Italy and the provinces is evidence for the importance of such debts owed to the fiscus (evidence for the post collected in Hirschfeld, Verwaltungsbeamten, 49), however, it is also evidence of Hadrian's determination to collect these debts rather than forgive them. The burden of the aurum coronarium in 117 was lightened or forgiven quite independently (H.A. Hadrian 6.5). In short, it seems that given Hadrian's known desire to run the Empire on a business-like basis, a resolution of the alimenta scheme, which was not economically viable, is the best solution to the problem of the remission of such an enormous debt.

8.2 Hadrian's Birthday Games (119)

Summary: On his birthday he gave games to the people at which many wild beasts were killed, and he threw gifts and tokens to the people.

8.2 ἐν τε τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ γενεθλίοις This section describes one particular event, Hadrian's birthday games in 119; his birthday was January 24 (H.A. Hadrian 1.3). The same event is described by the Vita: gladiatorum munus per sex dies continuos exhibuit et mille feras natali suo edidit (H.A. Hadrian 7.12). Hadrian did not care for games in his own honor except for birthday games. Despite this, Hadrian was generous with games and spectacles of all types, not only in Rome, but also in the provinces (cf. Dio 69.10.1; H.A. Hadrian 19.2, and see note, Dio 69.6.1-2).

8.3 καὶ δῶρα καὶ σφαίρων Dio explains how little inscribed balls were redeemed for gifts under Nero (62.18) and under Domitian (66.25.5); there are similar scenes in Suetonius (Gaius 18; Nero 11; Domitian 4). Giving separate chances to men and women perhaps protected women from trampling; however, at least in the time of Augustus they sat separately from the men (Suet, Aug. 44).

8.3 καὶ γὰρ λοῦσθαι The statement that men and women bathed separately is inappropriately tacked on here, attracted by the repetition of χωρίως, unless the reform should be dated to 119. Cf. H.A. Hadrian 18.11: lavacra pro sexibus separavit; the context is a series of minor Hadrianic laws. Women and men were separated by scheduling times for

use of the baths. This is an example of the Emperor's function as curator morum. Reforms relating to public morals had the purpose of preserving the dignity and traditional identity of the Roman people. The Vita has a section on such reforms (H.A. Hadrian 22.1-7), headed by the statement disciplinam civilem non aliter tenuit quam militarem.

8.3 The Suicide of Euphrates (119)

Summary: Hadrian permitted the philosopher Euphrates to commit suicide on account of his age and illness.

Cf. PIR² E 121 for detailed information on Euphrates; also Grimal, Latomus 14 (1955) 370-83. Jerome notes the death of Euphrates c. 121 (Chron. a. 2136). He was a Syrian from Tyre; a Stoic philosopher particularly prominent during the Flavian period. Pliny heard and admired him in Syria; later he taught in Rome (cf. Pliny, Ep. I.10). Euphrates was a longtime bitter opponent of Apollonius of Tyana; Philostratus therefore depicts him as an eloquent but greedy flatterer (Phil. Ap. Tyana, passim).

Romans had once regularly used suicide as a way to escape confiscation of property when they were about to be convicted of a crime (cf. Crook, Law and Life of Rome, 275-276). Evidently, this escape route had been blocked in the Empire by making suicide itself subject to confiscation of property. However, Stoic morality approved of suicide when life became unbearable. Euphrates was therefore given personal permission from Hadrian in 119 to commit suicide without prejudice to his property (he had three children, Pliny, Ep. I.10). This was probably the precedent for a legal decision of Hadrian by which the will of anyone who

committed suicide on account of depression (taedio vitae) or unbearable illness remained valid (Dig. 28.3.6.7). Hadrian even extended this right to soldiers (Dig. 29.1.34). In the case of a man who committed suicide when he learned that his son was a murderer, Hadrian interpreted his reason as dolor and allowed his will to stand (Dig. 48.21.3.5). Perhaps Julius Fabius also applied to the Emperor for permission to commit suicide, but the fragment of his story does not relate the outcome (Dio 69.23.4). Hadrian himself was prevented from suicide during his agonizing final illness; perhaps this is relevant to the frequent appearance of this subject in Dio's life of Hadrian.

9 Hadrian and Army Discipline (c. 121/122)

Summary: Hadrian went through each province in turn, observing the cities and inspecting all the military installations. He trained the soldiers in every type of battle and acted as an example, sharing their harsh life completely. Even now the rule he set up is followed by the army.

Dio's rather generalized description of Hadrian's work with the army obscures the fact that he is describing a particular point in Hadrian's reign (c. 121/122; this is an annalistic section, see note 69.8.1). Although the army remained an important interest to Hadrian throughout his reign, he gave particular attention to the army in Europe on his first journey.

The Vita (H.A. Hadrian 10-11.1) has a long description of Hadrian's work with the army in Germany. Many of the same points mentioned by Dio are repeated and enlarged upon (see note, below). The reform of the army,

which was an important part of Hadrian's policy throughout his reign, is indicated by the newly introduced coin legend DISCIPLINA (cf. BMC III, p. 318, no. 602). Hadrian did not continue Trajan's policy of aggressive expansion (see note, 69.5.1, pp. 56-57), but he wanted an army fit to face any aggressor. The Vita emphasizes Hadrian's attention to discipline (labantem disciplinam...retinuit, H.A. Hadrian 10.3). Dio 69.5.2; καὶ τὰ τε στρατιωτικὰ ἀκριβέστατα ἡσκησεν ὥστ' ἰσχύοντα μητ' ἀπειθεῖν μήτε ὑβρίξειν, is almost a definition of disciplina.

Among the coin series which summed up the work of Hadrian's reign (issued c. 134-138) was an EXERCITUS series. Coin examples exist for exercitus Britannicus, Cappadocicus, Dacicus, Delmaticus, Germanicus, Hispanicus, Mauretanicus, Moesiacus, Noricus, Raeticus, Syriacus and Thraciae, as well as for the praetorian cohort (BMC III, pp. 497-504). Hadrian's knowledgability on military matters is evidenced by the commentaries mentioned twice by Vegetius (res militares de commentariis Trajani et Hadriani; I.8; I.27); this was probably a compilation of Hadrian's military edicts, advice and speeches (cf. Bardon, Lettres Latines, 401), as Hadrian's work with the army seems to be practical and pragmatic rather than highly theoretical. Arrian's Tactics, a study of the use of cavalry in the army, as well as a similar work on the infantry, was done at Hadrian's request (cf. Tactics 32.3). Hadrian's personal knowledge of tactics, training procedures and military discipline is evident in the Lambaesis speeches commenting on training manoeuvres (Smallwood no. 328), and this is not surprising, considering the military experience gained in his earlier career (see note, 69.1.1, p.11-13).

Military reforms mentioned by Dio are treated below. Under Hadrian regular use was made of numeri, men drawn from native tribes, equipped to fight in their own native style, and led by officers chosen from their own leaders, a unit which was a significant feature of the Roman army from Trajan's time (cf. Webster, Roman Imperial Army, 89; Mann, Hermes 82 (1954), 501-6). Hadrian may also be credited with the introduction of at least one unit of cataphracts (mailed cavalry), the ala I Gallorum et Pannoniorum catafractatae (cf. Smallwood no. 265, Eadie, JRS 57 (1967) 167). The most important changes made by Hadrian were the fixing of frontier lines (Aelius Aristides in his speech εἰς Ρώμην 79-84 (a. 143) described the Empire as walled) and increasing encouragement of the enlistment of troops in the area where they served (cf. E. Birley, Carnuntina (1956) pp. 26-27). Hadrian's intention was to define the boundaries of the Empire and to consolidate Roman territory. To accomplish this, he reorganized the Empire on a system which was defensive.

9.1 ἄλλην ἀπ' ἄλλης διαπορευόμενος ἐπαρχίαν For an outline of Hadrian's first journey, to which section 9 refers, see note, 69.5.3, pp.64-65.

9.1 πάντα τὰ Φρούρια...προσκαθίστατο Dio is speaking of the long line of palisade in Germany, and perhaps also of Hadrian's wall in Britain (cf. H.A. Hadrian 12.6; 11.2). Although the chronological implications of Dio and the Vita are that Hadrian's reforms in Germany were accomplished in the year (c. 121-122) of his visit, revisions in the systems in Germany and in Britain during his reign imply a continuous

development—in Germany there was a complete reordering of the frontier line (cf. Schleiermacher, Germania 35 (1957) 117-120).

Small military units were dispersed along the line, earth forts and towers were replaced by stone, and a palisade was set up to act as a kind of customs hedge. The small forts were held by legionary and auxiliary cohorts and numeri and the old legionary base camps were dismantled. The new system indicated that no concerted war was expected on the German frontier.

Hadrian had perhaps ordered the wall in Britain as soon as he became Emperor (cf. inscription in JRS 33 (1943) 79). In 122 he was present as the project progressed. It continued in stages over the whole reign. The regular wall with mile-castles and turrets was built first, forts were added to be manned by auxiliary troops, and then the vallum or ditch was added to provide defense against attacks from within the province (cf. Frey, Britannia, 125-140), for, although the Vita says that the purpose of Hadrian's system of wall was to divide Romans from barbarians (H.A. Hadrian 11.2), the Brigantes on the near side of the wall were no less unruly than the Selgovae on the far side.

Beside the troop dislocations which these two new frontier lines caused, Hadrian's work in northern Europe involved the re-stationing of several legions, the last major troop dislocation in the Empire (cf. Domazewski, Rangordnung, 179).

9.2 καὶ μῆχανας Fronto specifically concedes that Hadrian knew siege-engines (Princ. Hist. 10). The Πολιορκητικά of Apollodorus, a manual of siege-engines of various types, was dedicated to Hadrian (see note, 69.4.1, p. 51).

9.3 ἐγύμναξέ τε αὐτοὺς Hadrian's speeches to the army at Lambaesis, in which he reviewed an assortment of manoeuvres and training exercises (Smallwood no. 328, Lambaesis (in Africa), July, 128), is important evidence for Dio's statement. Davies (Latomus 27 (1968) 75-95) emphasizes that Hadrian was particularly strict with the army in regard to training practice. He questions a line in Fronto (exercitus in Asia se pro scutis atque gladiis salibus sub pellibus delectare, Princ. Hist. 11), suggesting the emendation 'salicibus' for 'salibus'; this produces the sense "the army in the east amused itself under canvas with practice-weapons instead of real swords and shields" (Davies, 83). Fronto's sarcasm should not hide the fact that the men were in training (sub pellibus). Hadrian consciously imitated Scipio Aemilianus and Metellus Numidicus (H.A. Hadrian 10.2), who trained their armies in exactly the same energetic fashion (cf. Appian, Iberica 86 (Scipio); Sallust, Jug. 45 (Metellus)). Hadrian did not hesitate to ask hard effort from his men, although he was quick to reward them also (cf. H.A. Hadrian 10.3; multos praemiis, nonnullos honoribus donans, ut fere possent ea, quae asperius iubebat). The training exercises continued beyond Hadrian's visits; for instance Vegetius (I.27) states that Hadrian revived an Augustan law prescribing marches of at least ten miles three times a month for

infantry and cavalry. Aristides (εἰς Ρώμην, 71-87) emphasized that the Roman army stayed in training in peacetime; since he delivered this speech in 143, it reflects Hadrian's policy throughout his reign.

9.3 σκληρᾷ τε πανταχοῦ τῇ διαίτῃ ἐχρῆτο Cf. H.A. Hadrian 10, passim; Hadrian played the part of a soldier in the ranks--ipse quoque inter manipula vitam militarem magistrans (10.2); eating the soldier's food (10.2); wearing common clothes (10.5), and even walking twenty miles in arms (10.4). This was the stereotyped behavior of a great general (see above note for references to Scipio and Metellus; Pliny says similar things about Trajan, Pan. 13). Nevertheless playing this role was probably suited to Hadrian's temperament; in another context the Vita says that Hadrian was naturally robust and kept himself fit with exercise (H.A. Hadrian 26.1-2). As Dio says, Hadrian intended to teach and encourage by his own example; cf. H.A. Hadrian 10.2, he trained his soldiers by imbuing them with examples of endurance, exercuit tolerantiae documentis eum [militem] imbuens; ibid. 10.4, exemplo etiam virtutis suae ceteros adhortatus.

9.3 καὶ ἐβάδιξεν καὶ ἵππευε πάντα On this trip, at least, Hadrian made a point of walking and riding horseback, rather than using a carriage (cf. also H.A. Hadrian 26.2, which indicates that walking and riding were his ordinary exercise). Petrus Patricius (Exc. Vat. 107, cf. Boissevain, Dio III, 228) has a paraphrase "ὁχήμετι δὲ πίνυ σπανίως ἐχρητο." The Epitome (14.4) has a romanticized picture of Hadrian's travels as a walking tour--"Immensi laboris, quippe qui provincias omnes passibus circumierit...."

9.4 οὐδὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν...ἐκάλυφθη The Vita mentions Hadrian's bare head twice: frigora et tempestates ita patienter tulit, ut namquam caput texerit, H.A. Hadrian 17.9; in similar terms, 23.1. This detail is part of the Roman stereotype of the vir militaris, which was handed on as part of the persona of the Emperor. Nero's general, Corbulo, hardly went bare-headed when with his army (Tacitus, Ann. 13.35). Fronto ascribes the same thing to Lucius Verus (Princ. Hist. 13), while Herodian has a similar description of Septimius Severus (III, 6.10).

9.4 καὶ ἐν ταῖς χιόσι...τοῖς Αἰγυπτιακοῖς This reference to Celtic snow and Egyptian burning heat has no chronological significance, since Hadrian was not in Egypt until 129. It indicates what is already known, that Hadrian spent a winter in northern Europe (the winter of 121/122; see note, 69.5.3, p. 64).

9.4 καὶ τοῖς παραγγέλλμασι Possibly this refers to Hadrian's book of military precepts (Veg. I.8), but more likely to speeches of the sort Hadrian delivered at Lambaesis (Smallwood no. 328).

9.4 καὶ νῦν τὰ τότε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ταχθέντα νόμον.... This is echoed by the Epitome (14.11); officia sane publica et palatina nec non militiae in eam formam statuit quae paucis per Constantinum immutatis hodie perseverat (a much-discussed passage, cf. Crook, Consilium Principis, Ap. III, 135-141). This seems to be obvious nonsense, but one might suggest that, in regard to the military, Hadrian's handbook (cf. Veg. I. 8) was still being used, not only in Dio's time but even later.

9.5 ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὸ πλεῖστον πρὸς τοὺς ἑλλοφύλους διεγένετο

For Hadrian's peace policy, see note 69.5.1.

9.6 καὶ τὸ ἱππικὸν τῶν καλουμένων Βατάουον

One of the swimmers commemorated his feat with a poem (Smallwood no. 336; inscription found 'near the Danube':

Ille ego Pannoniis quondam notissimus oris
inter mille viros fortis primusq. Batavos
Hadriano potui qui iudice vasta profundī
Aequora Danuvii cunctis transnare sub armis...

Seven more lines relate that he shot an arrow and hit it with a second arrow while it was still in the air, an extraordinary feat, although the Batavi were celebrated soldiers (cf. Tacitus, Germania 29). The cohors III Batavorum milliaria equitata was probably in Pannonia at the time of Hadrian's first journey (they were in Pannonia at the latest at the beginning of the reign of Antoninus; earlier in Raetia, cf. Kraft, Alen und Kohorten, 169), which would agree with Dio's Ἰστρος (the upper Danube). This implies that Hadrian visited not only Germany in 121/122, but also Raetia and Noricum to reach Pannonia (the EXERCITUS coin series includes Raetia and Noricum, and only the first journey allows them a place in Hadrian's itinerary, see note 69.5.3).

10 Details of the First Journey (c. 122/123)

Summary: Hadrian visited the cities and presided at plays and gladiatorial shows, not wearing imperial insignia, which he did not use outside Rome. Although he gave much honor to Italica he never visited there.

He was enthused about hunting and sustained several injuries. He even named a city in Mysia Hadrianotherae to commemorate his hunts. Nevertheless, he did not neglect his work on this account. He also honored Plotina when she died.

This passage is again from an annalistic section (see note, 69.8.1). Only the mention of Hadrianotherae in Mysia is clearly out of context. Otherwise, the section is garbled, even without the insertion of 10.3a from Petrus Patricius (Exc. Vat. 109); it was probably mangled by the epitomators.

10.1 ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ θεάτρα καὶ ἀγῶνας Dio is specifically talking about entertainments put on by Hadrian in the provinces during his first journey. The Vita says: in omnibus paene urbibus et aliquid aedificavit et ludos edidit, H.A. Hadrian 19.2; similarly, ibid. 19.3 mentions an impressive venatio put on in Athens, but there is no chronological context. There is inscriptional evidence for many games which are called Hadrianeia, and these are used by Weber as proof of Hadrian's presence at the sites (Weber, 91), but they are not dated and their true relevance cannot be proven.

10.1 ἄνευ τῆς βασιλικῆς μέντοι παρασκευῆς Probably the "royal attire" worn only in Rome refers to the laurel wreath and sceptre. Most coin portraits of Hadrian show him bare-headed and wearing the toga or military apparel. He always wore the toga when in Italy (H.A. Hadrian 22.3). On the provincial series of coins, Hadrian wears either the toga

or a travelling costume consisting of a "short tunic, tall boots and a cloak" (J. Toynbee, Hadrianic School, p. 4, no. 1). It seems, therefore, that his taste in clothing was both Roman and conservative.

10.1 τὴν δὲ πατρίδα...οὐκ εἶδε Hadrian's family came from Italica in Baetica, see note, 69.1.1, p. 8. For Hadrian's generosity to Italica, see note 69.5.2-3, p.59. There is also an inscription noting Hadrian's generosity to Baetica, Smallwood no. 117, Tibur, dated 135. Dio is perhaps correct in his statement that Hadrian did not visit Italica in 122/123, when he was in Spain, although he did hold the post of quinquennalis there at some time (H.A. Hadrian 19.1, no chronological context). The Vita says he spent the winter in Tarraco where he called a consilium partly to discuss troop levies (H.A. Hadrian 12.3-5). All the Spaniards were reluctant to comply, but Hadrian was angry with Italica in particular (cf. Syme's interpretation of H.A. Hadrian 12.3, JRS 54 (1964) 144). If Syme is correct, then H.A. Marcus 11.7 is probably also relevant; Hispanis exhaustis Italica adlectione contra Traiani quoque praecepta: Italica had received special exemptions from troop levies under Trajan, which Hadrian evidently resented. Furthermore, Aulus Gellius (NA 16.13.4-5) says Italica asked to be given the status of colonia, a wish which Hadrian granted (cf. CIL 12, 1856, colonia Aelia Augusta Italica, Vienne, a.212), but he first made some sarcastic remarks suggesting that they misjudged the honor involved. Interestingly, the number of Spanish senators shows a small decline under Hadrian (cf. Etienne, Empereurs Romains d'Espagne, 57). Etienne suggests that Hadrian resisted pressure from any group and in

particular from the important faction of nobles originating in Italica and Baetica, cf. Etienne, 81-82; also map showing origins of Spanish senators under Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian, p. 75).

10.2 περὶ μέντοι τὰς θήρας ἐσπουδακέναι λέγεται A large amount of information on Hadrian's hunts exists; it is collected by Aymard, Essais sur les Chasses Romaines, 173-182; 523-537. Cf. Dio 69.10.3² and 69.7.3, ἐθήρα δὲ ὅσῳκις ἐνεδέχετο, which I suggested in the note actually belong in section 69.9.3, on Hadrian's work with the army in 121/122. As section 10 was originally annalistic, we may believe that Hadrian did a great deal of hunting on his first journey, on which he also showed particular interest in the army. However, he hunted at other times as well; for instance, in Spain at age fifteen (H.A. Hadrian 2.1); perhaps in Moesia at the time of the plot of the four consulars (see note, Dio 69.2.5, p. 37-38). As Emperor he hunted often (venatus frequentissime, H.A. Hadrian 26.3), but he did not neglect work necessary to the Empire on this account (Dio 69.10.2 οὐ μέντοι τι παρὰ τοῦτ' ἔπρακτον...κατέλιπε). Hadrian took hunting seriously; Dio says he broke his collar-bone and a leg while hunting (69.10.2); the Vita mentions the collar-bone and a rib (H.A. Hadrian 26.3; no chronological context). He went after big game--boar (cf. Dio 69.10.3²; the epigram on Borysthene, 1.6, see note, 69.10.2; also the boar on one of the tondi from the arch of Constantine, which are believed to represent Hadrian's hunts); a bear in Mysia (H.A. Hadrian 20.13; cf. a coin of Hadrianotherae with a bear on the reverse, Smallwood no. 492) and at Thespieae (cf. Kaibel, Epigr. Gr. 811); a lion in the Libyan

desert with Antinous (H.A. Hadrian 26.3; Pap. Ox. VIII.73). Pliny on Trajan shows that hunting was a mark of virtue in an Emperor in itself; it denoted audacity, strength both moral and physical, and courage (Pan. 81). Dion of Prusa (Or. III, 135) had also emphasized that hunting was the most fitting recreation for a king.

10.2 καὶ πόλιν ἐν τῇ Μυσίᾳ οἰκίσας Cf. H.A. Hadrian 20.13 (no chronological context), oppidum Hadrianotheras in quodam loco, quod illic feliciter esset venatus et ursam occidisset aliquando, constituit; a coin of Hadrianotherae with the head of Antinous on the obverse and a bear on the reverse, legend ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΘΗΡΑ (Smallwood no. 492). John Malalas also mentions the founding of Hadrianotherae (280; Migne, Patr. Gr. 97).

10.2 ὁ Βορυσθένης ὁ ἵππος Cf. H.A. Hadrian 20.13, equos et canes sic amavit, ut eis sepulchra constitueret. The epitaph of the horse was found at Apte in Gallia Narbonensis (Smallwood no. 520):

Borysthenes Alanus
Caesareus veredus
per aequor et paludes
et tumulos Etruscos
volare qui solebat
Pannonicos in apros
nec ullus insequentem
dente aper albicante
ausus fuit nocere
vel extimam saliva
sparsit ab ore caudam
ut solet evenire
sed integer iuventa
inviolatus artus
die sua peremptus
hoc situs est in agro.

The death of Borysthene occurred when Hadrian was in Gaul, that is, either in 121 or in 122. In honoring his horse, Hadrian was following a long tradition, cf Aymard, Essais sur les Chasses Romaines; on Borysthene, 524-25. Alexander honored Bucephalus (Curt. IX.3.23); Caesar erected a statue of his five-toed charger (Suet. Iulius 61); Augustus built a tomb for his war-horse (Pliny, NH VIII.155). Borysthene was a hunting horse (veredus), however, and not the war-horse beloved by earlier rulers, which underlines the fact that Hadrian did not wish to romanticize war (see note, 69.5.1, pp. 56-58).

10.3-10.3a τὴν Πλωτῖναν ἀποθανοῦσαν See note, 69.1.2, pp. 22-24 for Plotina, who died c. 122.

11 Details of Hadrian's Second Journey (c. 128-130)

In Greece he was initiated into the highest level of the mysteries. He then went through Judaea to Egypt and sacrificed to the manes of Pompey. He built the city of Antinoopolis in Egypt in honor of Antinous, his favorite, who died there. Hadrian was very superstitious and he honored Antinous, who had died as a willing sacrifice, by setting up statues of him in all the cities.

There is a long chronological gap between Plotina's death in 122 and Hadrian's initiation as ἐπίοικης of the mysteries of Eleusis in 128. An outline of Hadrian's travels during this period can be found in the note to 69.5.3, pp. 64-67. Probably the period was omitted by the epitomators as being of little interest.

11.1 ἐπώπτευσεν τὰ μυστήρια The Eleusinian mysteries, which were believed to grant personal blessing in life and salvation after death, were part of a fertility cult of Demeter and her daughter Persephone (cf. Kerenyi, Eleusis). Dio records only the higher initiation (ἐπώπτεία) which Hadrian reached on his stay in Athens in September of 128. He had earlier gone through the lower level of initiation (μυστική) in March of 125 (Weber's date, 191; it is indicated by the one reference to the mysteries in the Vita; post haec per Asiam et insulas ad Achaïam navigavit et Eleusinia sacra exemplo Herculis Philippique suscepit, H.A. Hadrian 13.1; see note, 69.5.3, p. 66). A coin from an eastern mint of 128 or later probably commemorates Hadrian's second initiation. The reverse shows Hadrian holding wheat, with the legend HADRIANUS AUGUSTUS P(ater) P(atriae) REN(atus); the obverse shows Caesar Augustus, who had been initiated into the lower grade of the Eleusinian mysteries after Actium (BMC III, p. 395, no. 1094). Hadrian was the first Emperor after Augustus to be initiated (Beaujeu, Religion Romaine, 165). Hadrian's double initiation probably indicates true spiritual involvement in the cult (Beaujeu, 174); it also is a sign of his identification with Athens. A priestess of Eleusis boasted that she initiated Hadrian, the greatest citizen of Athens (κλεινῆς δ' ἔξοχα Κερροπίης; inscription in Smallwood, no. 71a). All the citizens of Athens regularly participated in the mysteries, although anyone who was Greek-speaking was welcome (Kerenyi, 8). Hadrian had been an Athenian citizen at least since 111/112, when he was archon at Athens (ILS 308). According to Aurelius Victor (Caes. 14.4), Hadrian brought the Eleusinian mysteries to Rome. A series of coins honoring Ceres appears c. 134-138 (cf. BMC III, p. 356,

no. 919). Aelius Caesar, Hadrian's chosen heir, was probably also initiated into the mysteries (cf. BMC III, p. 545*, dated 137).

11.1 ἐνῆγγλσε τῷ Πομπηίῳ Cf. H.A. Hadrian 14.4; peragrata Arabia Pelusium venit et Pompeii tumulum magnificentius extruxit; the date is 130 (see note, 69.5.3, p. 67). The story of Pompey's death and his monument at Pelusium is found in Appian, BC II.86. There the same epitaph is anonymous, as it is also listed in the Palatine Anthology, 9.402. Hadrian refurbished Pompey's tomb, returning the bronze images erected by the family to their places (Appian, loc. cit.). This episode did not exist in isolation, for Hadrian was fascinated by the tombs of the great. Fronto says that the monuments of Hadrian's travels include many tombs--cum alia multa tum sepulchra ex saxo formata (Princ. Hist. 10). He visited the tomb of Ajax at Ilium (Phil. heroic. 288), Alcibiades at Melissa in Asia Minor (Athenaeus, Deip. 13.574) and Epaminondas at Mantinea (Paus. 8.11.8). He also wrote an epigram for the tomb of Archilochus (Anth. Pal. 7.674).

11.2-4 ὁ γὰρ Ἀντίνοος For Antinous, cf. PIR² A 737. Dio's version of the Antinous story is unflattering to Hadrian. According to Dio, Antinous was sacrificed and then honored as if he were a god on account of Hadrian's superstition. The account of the Vita is cooler. The relationship is delicately defined (Antinuum suum) and the possibility that Antinous was a willing sacrifice (devotum) is merely suggested. After his death he was considered a god by the Greeks and was the source of oracles which Hadrian was believed to have composed (H.A. Hadrian

14.5-7). Aurelius Victor says that Antinous was believed to have offered himself as a magical sacrifice to delay Hadrian's death (Caes. 14.7-9); the version Dio maintains (see note 69.11.3). Pausanias describes the cult of Antinous at Mantinea (cf. Smallwood no. 164) which was instituted by Hadrian and confirms that Antinous was honored elsewhere. Hadrian founded annual mystic rites (τελετη) in his honor and games every four years (Paus. 8.9.7-8). Jerome also mentions Antinous as the Emperor's darling who was deified after his death and for whom a city was named (Chron. a. 2145). Coin evidence from the Greek cities generously confirms that Antinous was considered a hero and a god (cf. Blum, Journ. Int. d'Arch. Numismatique 16 (1914); a sampling is given by Smallwood no. 163).

11.2 ἐν δὲ τῷ Αἰγύπτῳ...ἀνωκοδόμησε πόλιν Antinoopolis was built at the site of Antinous' death, Dio 69.11.3, on the east bank of the Nile midway between Thebes and Memphis. It was first explored by Napoleon's scientist Jomard. A later excavation report is found in JEA I (1914) 168-181. Several documents provide evidence for the founding and early life of the city (Smallwood nos. 503-507). For an account of the founding see Bell, JRS 30 (1940) 133-147. Antinous drowned at a date near November 21, 130, the date the Emperor's party visited the colossus of Memnon at Thebes (Smallwood no. 75). The Chronicon Paschale gives the date October 30, 122 although the year at least must be incorrect. A case has been made for dating the official founding of the city to October 30, 134 (cf. Follet, RPh 42 (1968) 54-77). This is not impossible, although it seems slightly late and requires another visit

by Hadrian to Egypt. Antinoopolis was clearly Hadrian's brain-child. The population was assigned to ten tribes, the names of which honored Hadrian's imperial family with the addition of the Athenian and Osirantinoan tribes. The five demes in each tribe identify Hadrian with Zeus, and the women of his family with the Eleusinian goddesses (cf. chart in Beaujeu, Religion Romaine, 167). The city founding also had a practical side, as there had been no Greek city in Middle Egypt; however, Greeks recruited from the rest of Egypt to accept citizenship there had to be lured by permission to marry Egyptian women and to register their children as wards of the state. Many citizens continued to live elsewhere. Late in the reign a canal was cut from Antinoopolis to Bæenike on the Red Sea to give the city a stronger economic base (Follet, p. 60, n. 3), and Antinoopolis did flourish for a limited time.

11.2 ἦν μὲν ἐκ Βιθυνίου πολέως...καλοῦμεν Dio is not averse to reminding the reader that Antinous' origin was Bithynian, the same as his own (cf. 'καλοῦμεν'). Antinous' origin is certain (cf. a coin of Bithynion-Claudiopolis with the legend ANTINOON ΘΕΟΝ Η ΠΑΤΡΙΣ, Smallwood no. 163c; Pausanias 8.9.7; deme name Βιθυνιεύς of the Osirantinoan tribe at Antinoopolis).

11.2 ὥς Ἀδριανὸς γράφει Dio may imply that he had read Hadrian's autobiography, which is mentioned by the Vita as published under the name of Hadrian's freedman Phlegon (H.A. Hadrian 16.1). Since Hadrian evidently did believe that Antinous' death had a mystic significance, it is interesting that he avoided stating this officially.

11.2 ὥς ἡ ἀλήθεια ἔχει Dio often claims a direct line to the truth in matters which must remain doubtful (cf. Millar, Cassius Dio, 64).

11.3 περιεργότατος...ὥσπερ εἶπον Cf. Dio 69.5.1, ἦτιῶντο...τότε περιέργον. Hadrian was a firm believer in astrology (H.A. Hadrian 16.7; cf. Cramer, Astrology, 162-178). Analyses of Hadrian's horoscope survive, and they confirm Dio's interpretation of Antinous' death (cf. Cramer, 172). Astrology predicted Hadrian's death in his fifty-sixth year, but gave him an additional eight years through the favor of Venus (analysis quoted by Cramer, 165); at the time of Antinous' death the fatal year was only a few months off. If Antinous died willingly to allow Hadrian a longer life, it is not surprising that Hadrian was eager to believe him a god. Egyptian belief identified the drowned with Osiris, which probably confirmed Hadrian's fixed idea (Beaujeu, Religion Romaine, 244; cf. tribe name Ὀσειραντινοῖος at Antinoopolis).

11.4 καὶ ἐκείνου ἀνδριάντας...ἀνέθηκε Clairmont, Die Bildnisse des Antinous, lists sixty portraits of Antinous, of whom more statues exist than of any other individual in antiquity. Pausanias says that although he never saw Antinous "ἐν δὲ ἀγάλμασιν εἶδον καὶ ἐν γραφαῖς" (8.9.7). The obelisk of the Pincio (cf. Platner-Ashby, 366) implies the extension of his cult in Egypt. Coins of many Greek towns honor him as a hero or a god (cf. Blum, Journ. Inst. d'Arch. Num. 16 (1914). Syncretism identified Antinous with a variety of gods: Hermes (Smallwood no. 163b, a coin of Alexandria; also the deme Ἑρμαλεῦς

at Antinoopolis); Dionysus (Smallwood no. 163c, coin of Bithynion-Claudiopolis; the statues at Mantinea, Paus. 8.9.7-8); Iakchos (Smallwood no. 163d, coin of Adramytion in Mysia; Apollo (cult shared with Diana at Lanuvium, Smallwood no. 165; a coin of Tarsus with legend ΝΕΩ ΠΥΘΙΩ, cited by Beaujeau, p. 253); and Osiris (the tribe name Ὀσειραντινοῖος at Antinoopolis). Roman coins do not directly reflect the cult of Antinous, but probably the series of coins honoring Nilus indirectly refers to him (Strack, p. 166, BMC III, pp. 347-348, 514-516).

11.4 καὶ τέλος ἀστέρα The star named Antinous is one of the nine making up the constellation Aquila (the Eagle) which is high in the sky in September.

11.4 ὅτι Παυλίνῃ ἀδελφῇ ἀποθανούσῃ...ἔνειμεν This phrase is not in Xiphilinus. It is supplemented from Exc. Val. 295 and from the note in the Suda on Hadrian, both of which ultimately stem from Dio. Paulina's death is not securely dated. The text implies that she died after the death of Antinous in 130. She was still alive in 134 if there is any genuine information in the letter of Hadrian to her husband Servianus as consul (H.A. Quad. Tyr. 8; the letter must be dated to 134, when Servianus was consul III).

Domitia Paulina, Hadrian's sister (PIR² D 186) was married to Julius Ursus Servianus (see note, 69.17.1), with whom Hadrian had a most ambivalent relation, swinging between admiration and hatred. She was never

greatly honored by Hadrian; in contrast Trajan named both his sister Marciana and niece Matidia Augusta. Evidently Hadrian wished to avoid giving too much influence to Paulina's husband Servianus and her son-in-law Fuscus Salinator, who shared the post of consul ordinarius with Hadrian in 118. However, several statues are dedicated to her as the sister of the Emperor (CIL X 6220, Fundi, Latium, IGR I 1004, Lyttus, Crete; IGR III 773, Attalea, Pamphylia). One of the ten tribes at Antinoopolis was named after her; the deme names commemorate her association with Isis and with Hadrian. Since Servianus' third consulship was received in 134--after an extraordinary lapse of thirty-two years since his second consulship--perhaps a recent reconciliation had taken place between the family members which did not outlast Paulina's death, which might be placed c. 134.

12-14.3 The Jewish War (132-135)

Summary: On the site of Jerusalem Hadrian built a new city, Aelia Capitolina, and a temple of Zeus. This roused a war which was neither minor nor short. While Hadrian was nearby the Jews were quiet, except that they purposely made weapons weak in order to use them when rejected by the Romans. When Hadrian went onward, they openly revolted. They did not dare to draw up battle lines, but they took the good vantage points and strengthened them with mines and walls so that they would have places of refuge whenever they were pressured. At first the Romans did not take them seriously, but when all Judaea was roused they caused the Romans much harm. Even foreigners assisted them and the whole world was disturbed. Hadrian then sent his strongest generals against them,

of whom Julius Severus, who had been governing Britain, was the most outstanding. Severus made no attempt to meet the enemy, but seeing their general desperation he picked up their men one by one and cut off their supplies, and thus slowly and securely wore them down. Few indeed survived. He razed fifty of their strongest forts and 985 of the best-known villages, and killed 580,000 men in raids and battles besides the great number lost to hunger, sickness and fire. Many Romans also died in this war.

There is little conflict between the sources for the War of Bar Kokhba, but they are very divergent in point of view and facts presented. Dio describes the war from a Roman and military point of view. Eusebius (Hist. Eccles IV.6.1-4) emphasizes Jewish rebelliousness and suffering, and the Talmud, in scattered references, gives the viewpoint of the pious Jew who in this war was finally defeated in arms. Coins, especially those issued by Bar Kokhba, the Jewish leader, are an important source; and now a large fund of information from archaeological expeditions in the Jewish desert on the west coast of the Dead Sea, including 17 letters of Bar Kokhba to his lieutenants, have been published (cf. Benoit, Milik and de Vaux, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert II (1961), in which documents no. 43 and 44 are letters of Bar Kokhba; Avigad, et. al. IEJ 11 (1961) 3-72; IEJ 12 (1962) 168-200. Yadin, Judaean Desert Studies: The Finds from the Bar Kokhba Period (1963) is a complete publication of the expedition which included fifteen letters of Bar Kokhba in its finds. Yadin's Bar Kokhba (1971) also is an account of this expedition. Borchsenius, The Son of a Star, though written before

the recent archaeological discoveries (1957), is a popular account of events from 70-135.

The best consecutive account of Jewish history in English, Graetz, A History of the Jews, relates the war to its context (IV, 393-433), including the wide-spread Jewish revolts of 115-117 (see note 69.5.1, p. 57). All these revolts were severe. After violently suppressing the Jewish revolt in Parthia, Lusius Quietus was appointed by Trajan as pro-praetorian legate of Judaea. Hadrian's dismissal of Lusius (see note 69.2.5, p. 26) was interpreted by the Jews as a sign of Hadrian's good will. At this point the Jews believed that Hadrian would restore their temple (Sib.Or. V.48.421; X.163), a belief which also appears in Christian sources (cf. Barnard, JEA 44 (1958) 101-7). When Hadrian refused permission to build the temple on its original site, the Jews assembled in the valley of Rimmon for war, but were dissuaded by Rabbi ben Hananiah (Midrash Rabbah on Genesis, 64). After this a restive peace lasted for more than a decade.

It is probable that war was imminent during Hadrian's visit in 130 (for which see note, 69.5.3, p. 67), as Dio suggests (69.12.2). Even before Hadrian's decision to found Aelia Capitolina, which Dio describes as the immediate cause of the revolt, there was great discontent. The war was clearly the final outcome of the inability of the Jews to accept Romanization, and a continuation of the violent revolts of the preceeding seventy years. Hadrian's attitude was not conciliatory, as shown by his refusal to allow the rebuilding of the Jewish temple, followed by his decision to desecrate the site with a temple of Zeus. There may even have been skirmishes before Hadrian's visit (cf. Gray, AJSL 40 (1923) 254-5).

Inscriptions on the aqueduct of Caesarea in Palestine (cf. Smallwood no. 398) indicate that the legio VI Ferrata, or at least a detachment of it, had been transferred to Palestine at the time of Hadrian's visit in 130, probably because of tension in the area (cf. Lifshitz, Latomus 19 (1960) 110-111). The same aqueduct also bears an inscription of the legio X Fretensis, which was regularly stationed in Palestine; and another of the legio II Traiana, which had been in Egypt since 123 and must have been transferred to Palestine because of the threat of war (Negev, IEJ, 14 (1964) 245-248).

Dio's account of the war is lengthy in its context, and he is unusually specific in giving the number of towns taken and people slain. The type of information he gives suggests that one source was Hadrian's reports to the Senate; he mentions a letter evidently sent by Hadrian from the field (69.14.3; cf. Millar, Cassius Dio, 62). Dio barely mentions the background of the revolt, but he describes the methods of the guerilla war very clearly.

Eusebius (Hist. Eccl. IV.6.1-4), the other major literary source, notes that the war was simply another outbreak of continuing Jewish disaffection. Rufus (Q. Tineius Rufus, cos. 127; Degraasi, p. 37), governor of Judaea at the time, was sent reinforcements by Hadrian to deal with the revolt. In the course of the war thousands were killed, the climax being that the whole land was sold into slavery. The Jewish leader's name Bar Kokhba, 'son of a star', indicated that he was considered the Messiah. The war reached its peak in 135 at Beth-ther, a fortified place not far from Jerusalem. The besieged Jews were finally conquered

by hunger and thirst, and their leader was killed. After this Hadrian passed a law that no Jew should be able to see the fatherland even from a distance (cf. Harris, HTR 19 (1926) 199-206). After the war, when Judaea was desolate, Hadrian founded the new city of Aelia Capitolina, where the new church was formed by Gentiles (Eusebius names Ariston of Pella, a Christian Jew of the second century, as his source; cf. RE, Ariston, 59).

The Vita almost ignores the war, but gives the cause as the prohibition of circumcision: moverunt ea tempestate et Iudaei bellum, quod vetabantur mutilare genitalia (H.A. Hadrian 14.2). This cause of the war is given nowhere else. Smallwood has investigated the question (Latomus 18 (1959) 334-347 and 20 (1961) 93-96). She dates the decree against circumcision, which equated it with castration, thereby making it liable to death, to a point just preceding the war, noting that it was not directed specifically against the Jews, since other Semites also practised what the Romans considered a barbarous custom. The Talmud, however, definitely indicates the prohibition of circumcision in Hadrian's persecution of Jewish customs following the war (Rosh Hashanah I.19a). Jerome's Chronicle adds a few details. He names Tinnius Rufus governor of Judaea in 133 (a.2148). Bar Kokhba did not get cooperation from the Christians, and killed them because of it (a.2149). Jerome dates the end of the war and the expulsion of the Jews from Jerusalem to 135 (a.2150, cf. also a.2140). Aelia Capitolina was founded in 137 (a.2152) and a sculpture of a sow was put up on the gate facing Bethlehem to show that Roman power had conquered the Jews. Extremely untrustworthy pas-

sages in Epiphanius (περὶ μέτρων 14, Migne, Patr. Gr. 43, 260-261) and in Moses of Khorene (Jacoby, Fr. Gr. Hist. 201 F 2) also mention the war. The Chronicon Paschale (I.474) describes Hadrian's slave market of Jews in Hebron, Gaza and Egypt at the end of the war, and also describes the new city of Aelia Capitolina. Jewish literature has several obscure references to the war, although the era of persecution following it has left a greater impression. Religious observation was prohibited (B. Talmud, Rosh Hashanah 1.19), and no funeral orations could be said over those who had been killed by the Romans (B. Talmud, Sanhedrin 1.11), while permission to bury those slain at Beth-ther was withheld for at least a year (B. Talmud, Ta'anith 4.3). A period of extreme poverty followed, symbolized by the picture of six Hebrew students sharing one robe (B. Talmud, Sanhedrin 2.20).

The letters of Bar Kokhba and other documents of the period reveal much new information. The beginning of the Bar Kokhba period is now datable to 1. Tisri, 131/2 (Jan. 132; cf. Discoveries II, 125). His headquarters for the first several years of his revolt were at Herodium, (ibid, p. 123), which is south of Jerusalem on the heights west of the Dead Sea. Bar Kokhba's real name was Simon son of Kosiba (Σίμων Κοσιβα; cf. Lifshitz, Aegyptus 42, 1962, 248); he took the title 'Prince of Israel' (Yadin, IEJ 12 (1962) 250). He had taken over the administration of land confiscated by the Romans in 70 A.D., and was leasing it out (ibid. 252, also leases in Discoveries II, no. 24, pp. 122-134). He was not uneducated, for he used Hebrew, Aramaic and even Greek when writing to his lieutenants (cf. IEJ 11 (1961), 40-49; for the Greek letters, Lifshitz, Aegyptus 42 (1962) 240-256). The soldiers of Bar Kokhba were

organized into a brotherhood, probably with initiation rites. The first 200,000 men recruited were required to cut off a finger; later they were required to root up a cedar of Lebanon (Talmud, Ta'anith 4.26). In lists described by Lifshitz the Greek word ἀδελφός is set beside each man's name (IEJ 12 (1962) 53-61). Nevertheless, Bar Kokhba was intent on preserving Jewish tradition. In one letter he organized supplies to celebrate the Jewish festival of Sukkoth (Yadin, IEJ 11 (1961) 48-49). The latest document explicitly dated to Bar Kokhba's era is a deed of sale of the 21st of Tisri in the fourth year of the liberation of Israel (Jan. 135) (Discoveries II, no. 30, p. 146). This confirms the conventional dating of the war. Traditionally, the Jewish rebels were finally defeated on the 9th Ab (July-August), 135. Probably most of the last year was spent in the final refuges--the fortress Beth-ther, and the caves in the Judaeen desert where these documents were found.

The coins of Bar Kokhba (which can be found in BMC Palestine) are discussed by Kindler in Dating and Meaning of Ancient Jewish Coins, 62-80). All these coins are re-struck, yet Kindler describes them as the finest issue of Jewish coins, with a larger number of types (45) than from any comparable period in Jewish history (Dating and Meaning, 102). No human images appear on the coins. Instead, Jewish symbols, such as a palm branch, bunch of grapes or a lyre are used, all of which were intended to recall the temple. The legends are for the 'First year of the redemption of Israel', 'Second year of the deliverance of Israel:' the legend 'For the freedom of Jerusalem' is from the third year of the war (Kindler, op. cit., 68). Coins with the legend 'Jerusalem' and 'Deliverance

of Jerusalem' (BMC Palestine, p. 285, no. 5; p. 295, no. 50) indicate that the city was taken by the revolutionaries.

Roman coins from the period are not closely dated. A large issue with the legend FELICITATI AUG(usti) (BMC III, pp. 450-455, nos. 1385A-1414), which shows variations of a galley, some with vexillum and standard, has long been assigned to the Jewish war (Strack, 136). The galley should represent a major military expedition, perhaps a sea voyage of Hadrian to Palestine during the course of the war (Strack, 135; cf. Mattingly, BMC III, cxlii, who points out that L. Verus uses the same type for his Syrian expedition in 162/63 A.D., RIC III, p. 319, no. 1325). It is also possible that the galley on these coins honors the legio X Fretensis, which was long stationed in Palestine, for the galley is one symbol of that legend (Parker, Roman Legions, 268). The same galley appears on a coin of Aelia Capitolina (cf. Meshorer, IEJ 13 (1963) 59-60. Coins referring to Jupiter may be connected with the war (Hadrian was identified with Jupiter Capitolinus when his temple in Jerusalem was finally built, cf. Jerome, Comm. on Isaiah. 2.9): IOVI CUSTODI, BMC III, p. 471, no. 1522; IOVI VICTORI, p. 324, no. 658; and IOVI CONSERVAT(ori), p. 323*. The legend VICTORIA AUG(usti) (BMC III, p. 335-336, nos. 757-773, dated between 134 and 138) marks the successful conclusion of the war and Hadrian's part in it. The coin of Judaea in the provincial series shows a woman in Greek dress accompanied by children bearing a palm branch, which belongs to the motif hilaritas (BMC III, p. 512, no. 1757), the coin therefore marks the new Greek settlement (Strack, 162).

12.1 Αἰλίαν Καπιτωλῖναν The date of the founding of Aelia Capitolina is problematic, but Dio's statement that Hadrian's founding of the city (in 130) was a cause of the war could be understood as his unfulfilled but announced intention (cf. Stinespring, AOSJ 59 (1939) 360-365). Gray's argument (AJSL 40 (1923) 248-256) that the new city was begun in 117 is unconvincing, since there is reason to believe that the city was taken and destroyed during the Bar Kokhba war (Appian, Syriaca 50, and coins of Bar Kokhba with the legend "Jerusalem" (BMC Palestine, p. 285, no. 50). Therefore, the successful founding of the pagan city must have been in 135 at the earliest: the chronology of Jerome gives 137 A.D. (a.2152). Coins of Aelia Capitolina issued under Hadrian may be found in BMC Palestine. The city was laid out in Greek style and Jews were absolutely excluded. Besides the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, the city received many impressive public buildings (Chron. Pasch. I, 474). The city was divided into 7 quarters or administrative divisions and settled by Greeks, many of them veterans of the Syrian army.

12.2 Ἰουδαῖοι γὰρ δεινὸν τι ποιοῦμενοι τὸ αλλοφύλου ... οἰκισθῆναι Jewish exclusivity is described in a speech of the Stoic philosopher Euphrates, supposedly delivered to Vespasian in A.D. 70, which appears in Philostratus' Life of Apollonius of Tyana (5.33), written c. 200 A.D. Euphrates says "For the Jews have long been in revolt not only against the Romans, but against humanity; and a race that has made its own a life apart and irreconcilable, that cannot share with the rest of mankind in the pleasures of the table nor join in their libations or prayers or sacrifices, are separated from ourselves by a greater gulf

than divides us from Susa or Bactra or the more distant Indies" (Wright, I, 541, Loeb). The separation so ardently wished by the Jews could not be tolerated by the Roman government.

12.2 παρόντος ἐν τῷ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ αὖθις ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ For Hadrian's whereabouts from 130 on, see note, 69.5.3, p. 66.

12.3 ὅπως ἀναφυγὰς τε ὁπόταν βιασθῶσιν ἔχῃσι Caves refuges on the west coast of the Dead Sea were the focus of the Israeli archaeological expeditions in 1960 and 1961. The refuges had been prepared by the people from the Dead Sea harbor En-Gedi. One of these caves was watched by two Roman camps on either summit of a canyon. The forty men, women and children in this almost inaccessible cave probably starved to death (cf. Aharoni, IEJ 12 (1962) 186-199). Other caves, which held luckier refugees, are described by Aharoni, IEJ 11 (1961) 11-24, and Avigad, IEJ 12 (1962) 168-183.

13.1 καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους...ἐνεδείκνυντο Yadin's expedition found a cache of bronze pagan ritual vessels which were probably taken in an attack on a Roman unit by Bar Kokhba's men. Human images on these were scratched out in accordance with Jewish law (cf. IEJ 11 (1961) 39).

13.2 τῶν ἀλλοφύλων Individual Gentile allies existed, since lists of soldiers include a few names which are not Hebrew (Γάιος and

'Αλεξάνδρος, for example; Lifshitz, IEJ 12 (1962) 53-61). These Gentiles may have been fugitive slaves or laborers from the Greek villages of Palestine (Lifshitz, Aegyptus 42 (1962) 253). Another letter from Bar Kokhba (IEJ 11 (1961) 46) asks that Thyrsis bar Tinianus be delivered to him. This Gentile may have been co-operating with the Jews, or he may have been a prisoner. There is no evidence for other nations joining the war, although Moses of Khorene (an Armenian historian of the early fifth century) says Syria, Mesopotamia and Persia withheld tribute from the Romans, an unhistorical claim, as Mesopotamia and Persia were not under Roman control. The participation of the (Roman) Syrian fleet in the war (cf. CIL 8, 8934, see note, 69.13.3, p. 119), perhaps indicates that the Levant was willing to provide supplies for rebel Judaea.

13.2 'Ιούλιος Σεουήρος Inscriptions referring to Sextus Julius Severus are collected in PIR² I 576; he is not the same man as mentioned in 69.14.4. He appears on many military diplomas of Dacia and Dalmatia. His early career was sponsored by Trajan; under Hadrian he was legatus of Dacia (120-126 A.D.); consul suffectus in 127; legatus of Moesia Inferior (129-131); legatus of Britain from 131 to 133 or 134. The reconstructed chronology of his career agrees with Dio's statement that Hadrian did not call him into the Jewish war until it was well advanced. He received ornamenta triumphalia for his success in ending the war. Near the end of the war he was made governor of Syria Palestine (or Judaea, which was thereafter headed by a consular legatus and held by two legions, the X Fretensis at Jerusalem, and the VI Ferrata at Caparcotna); later he became governor of Syria (Smallwood, no. 217, Dalmatia).

13.3 πλήθει τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῶν ὑπάρχων Meyshan, in PEQ 90 (1958) 20, lists three versions of the army present (from Yeivin and Allon, who write in Hebrew, and Schürer). The legio X Fretensis was regularly stationed in Judaea. In 130 at least part of the legio VI Ferrata (Syrian) and the legio II Traiana (Egyptian) were in Judaea (Latomus 19 (1960) 110; IEJ 14 (1964) 245-248); probably because war was threatening. When Tineius Rufus lost control of the situation, Publicius Marcellus, governor of Syria, was sent to his aid. Julius Severus, who later governed Bithynia (Dio 69.14.4), was left in charge in Syria, perhaps reserving the troops of which he had been legatus, the legio IV Scythica (cf. Smallwood no. 216). The remaining Syrian legions, the III Gallica and XVI Flavia f., probably accompanied Publicius Marcellus to Palestine. Another eastern legion, the III Cyrenaica from Arabia, was involved in the war (cf. CIL 14, 3610). When the armies of the east proved inadequate, Hadrian sent in Julius Severus, then governor of Britain. Severus was accompanied by a few troops from Britain, a certain M. Statius Priscus and perhaps his unit, the cohors Lingunum (cf. CIL 6, 1523). However, legions from lower Moesia, which had been governed by Severus earlier, now contributed men to the war; these were the legio V Macedonica and XI Claudia p.f. (cf. CIL 3 14155² and 13586). The legio V Macedonica not only served in the war, but may have been the legion which took Jerusalem. It provided some of the first veteran settlers to Aelia Capitolina (Meyshan, PEQ 90 (1958) 19-26). The legio X Gemina from Upper Pannonia also joined the Roman forces in Palestine (Smallwood no. 331); Q. Lollius Urbicus, legatus of this legion, received honors in the war (Smallwood no. 220). In short,

epigraphic evidence supports the participation of all or part of the following legions:

1. legio X Fretensis (Judaea)
2. II Traiana (Egypt)
3. VI Ferrata (Syria)
4. III Gallica (Syria)
5. III Cyrenaica (Arabia)
6. X Gemina (Upper Pannonia)
7. V Macedonica (Lower Moesia)
8. XI Claudia p.f. (Lower Moesia)

Besides the legions, many soldiers from cohorts and cavalry units must have been involved in the war. The Roman army in Palestine during the war has been estimated at about 35,000 by Yeivin (quoted by Meyshan, op. cit., p. 22). This was not an enormous army to accomplish the extirmination of 580,000 men.

13.3 καὶ τρόφης κατακλείων Most of the letters found by Yadin were addressed to Bar Kokhba's lieutenants Yehonatan and Masabala, who were in charge of collecting grain for their army and shipping it in to their head-quarters, En-Gedi, on the Dead Sea, and from there overland to the army (cf. letters no. 1 and 12, IEJ 11 (1961) 40 and 46). Supplies could not be shipped in from the Mediterranean because of the efforts of the Syrian fleet; the prefect of which received military decorations from Hadrian ob bellum Iudaicum (CIL 8, 8934, Saldae, Mauretania). By late in the war, when the letters found were probably written, the

authority of Bar Kokhba was weakening, evidenced by the many threats and rebukes in the letters (cf. no. 1, no. 12 and no. 14; men of some towns refused to fight at all. Discoveries II, no. 43, is also an angry and threatening letter). Naturally several of these letters ask for provisions, as this was the major purpose of the post at En-Gedi, but one at least is in a tone of desperation: "You sit, eat and drink from the property of the House of Israel, and care nothing for your brothers" (IEJ 11 (1961) 47). Probably soon after, the men at En-Gedi were forced to take refuge in the hill caves west of the Dead Sea.

14.1 ὀλίγοι γοῦν νομιδῇ περιεγέγοντο The statistics in this passage are foreign to Dio's literary style (cf. Millar, Cassius Dio, 43-44), and may indicate that he was wrestling with primary sources. The Jewish sources put the number of men in Bar Kokhba's army at 400,000 (Talmud, Ta'anith 4.68). If Dio's count of 580,000 men killed in raids and battles is the official Roman statistic (that is, if his source is reports to the Senate) we must assume that many civilians, probably including women and children, were killed in the Roman raids. In comparison, Josephus puts the casualties of the war of 70 at one million (Jos. Bell. Iud. 6.420).

14.2 τὸ γὰρ μνημεῖον τοῦ Σολομῶντος The 'monument' of Solomon was probably the costly marble memorial placed at the entrance of Solomon's tomb by Herod (Jos. Ant. Jud. 16.182: μνῆμα λευκῆς πέτρας). The pic-

ture of beasts taking over desolated cities is a typically Jewish prophecy, usually against the enemy, cf. Zeph. 2. 14-15; this happened in Jerusalem in the aftermath of the Bar Kokhba war. (Jerome's Commentary on Zephaniah). Similar prophecies appear in Isaiah 13.20-22; 34. 10-15.

14.3 πολλοὶ...καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπώλοντο Fronto (de bello Parth.2) confirms that many Roman soldiers were killed in the Jewish War.

14.3 διὸ καὶ ὁ Ἀδριανὸς γράφων πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν.... This passage supports Hadrian's presence at the front, and perhaps its placement indicates that this occurred towards the end of the war. At some time the emperor's own troops were present in Syria. There is an inscription at Gerasa, dated only between 128 and 138 (by the presence of P.P.), which states that the equites singulares of the Emperor have wintered there (Smallwood no. 332). A member of the third Praetorian Cohort received decorations ob bellum Iudaicum (CIL X, 3733, Atella, Campania). This implies that however short Hadrian's visit to the front during the war, his own troops were involved in danger. Perhaps Hadrian's presence is also confirmed by awards conferred by him; for instance a centurion of the legio X Fretensis seems to record Hadrian's personal attention: "donis don(atus) ab divo Hadrian(o) ob bell(um) Iudaicum corona aurea tor(qu)ib(us) armillis p[h]aler(ibus) et ab eodem promotus..." (Smallwood no. 399, Macedonia). Hadrian's presence at the front, though likely not longer than a few months, since Dio freely gives credit for winning the war to Julius Severus, should probably be placed in the fall and win-

ter of 134/5. He was in Rome earlier (May 5, 134; CIG 5906) and was named Imperator II in late 135 and after on military diplomas (cf. Perret, Titulature, 50) once Severus had decisively won the war.

14.4 Severus, Governor of Bithynia (135)

Hadrian sent Julius Severus to Bithynia, a province which had no military garrison, but which needed a careful overseer. He managed affairs so well that we still remember him.

14.4 τὸν δὲ Σεουήρουν ἐς Βιθυνίαν ἔπεμψεν C. Julius Severus (PIR² I 573), of whom Dio speaks here, belonged to a noble and rich family of Ancyra (some of his royal relations are listed in Smallwood no. 215). At the time of Trajan's Parthian War (113/114), Severus provided support for the army wintering in Ancyra (Smallwood no. 215). He filled many provincial posts in Asia Minor and used his wealth to benefit these areas. His benefactions, social rank and personal worth were recognized by Hadrian, who adlected him into the Senate inter tribunicios. This was an exceptional honor, since few new men from Asia Minor were made Senators under Hadrian. Only two are known, Julius Severus of Ancyra and Flavius Arrianus of Nicomedia (cf. Walton, JRS 19 (1929) 49; Arrian is also specially mentioned by Dio 69.15.1, and see note). After the praetorship, Severus held a special post of legatus of Hadrian in Asia ex epistula et codicillis. Following this he was legatus of the legio IV Scythicae in Syria, and when, in 132, or shortly thereafter, Publicius Marcellus, governor of Syria, was ordered to the Judaeen front with his armies, Julius Severus held Syria as vice legati. About 135 he

was proconsul of Achaia and became a patron of Corinth. Next Severus was sent by Hadrian himself to Bithynia (cum quinque fascibus, the sign of an imperial governor) to reorganize the affairs of the province. Bithynia had recurring problems which forced the Emperor to take it temporarily out of Senate Hands (see note, 69.14.4, below). Pliny's correspondence with Trajan shows that the large sums available to the cities of Bithynia often went to fraudulent contractors (Epist. X, esp. 17a & b, 18, 22, 37-40, 43, 44, 54). The municipalities and their administrative districts were artificially superimposed on a mountainous, rural, largely uncivilized area (Jones, Cities, 173). There were serious earthquakes during Hadrian's reign (Jerome, Chron. a.2136). Beyond this, Bithynia was an important link in Roman control of the Black Sea area; evidently diplomatic relations with the kingdom of Bosphorus went through the Emperor's procurators in Bithynia (cf. Rostovtzeff, Ann. Br. Sch. at Athens (1916-1918) 21). After great success in Bithynia, Severus held the posts of praefectus aerarium Saturni, and consul suffectus, perhaps in 139. His career continued under Antoninus Pius, his last post being proconsul Asiae. Aristides called him τῶν βασιλικῶν...δικαστῶν ἐῤ (50.77.Keil) which Crook suggests may mean he belonged to the Emperor's consilium (Consilium Principis, 169).

14.4 τῇ δὲ βουλῇ...ἐδόθη This phrase is omitted in Xiphilinus; Boissevain supplements it from Exc. Val. 296. The statement that Pamphylia was given to the Senate in place of Bithynia does not agree with the facts under Hadrian. Bithynia had originally been a senatorial province. The province was temporarily taken out of Senate hands under

Trajan (Pliny's legateship; CIL V 5262) and under Hadrian (Julius Severus). Under Antoninus Pius the province was senatorial, but in 165/166 Bithynia again had an imperial legate (IGR III 84), and was an imperial province from that point. It is surely not a coincidence that the earliest known proconsul of Pamphylia (Lycia-Pamphylia) was Cassius Apronianus, the father of Cassius Dio, c. 182 (for a complete discussion, see Magie, RRAM, ch. 28, n. 7). This detail therefore may be contextually relevant, but is is not chronologically relevant.

15 Flavius Arrianus and the War with the Alani

Summary: The Judaeian war ended, but a war with the Alani (a nomadic people east of the Black Sea) was instigated by Pharasmanes (king of the neighboring Iberi) which harmed Albania and Media and involved Armenia and Cappadocia. The Alani were appeased by gifts from Vologaeses (king of Armenia) and frightened by Flavius Arrianus, the governor of Cappadocia. 15.2) Hadrian (?) admitted the embassies from Vologaeses and from the Iazyges to the Senate house and read his answer to them.

Under 69.15, Boissevain associates three paragraphs, which are linked by the mention of Pharasmanes, king of the Iberi. Only 15.1 is found in Xiphilinus. 15.2 (Exc. U^G 55, 407) actually reads ἐσήγαγεν Ἰσπανούς. Boissevain felt that it did not belong with 15.1 because it places Hadrian in Rome (Boissevain, Dio III, p. 235, notes 1 and 2). However, since war with the Alani followed the Jewish War (which ended in the summer of 135), peace negotiations with the Alani would probably not have taken place before 136, at which time Hadrian was in Rome.

Boissevain places 15.3 in the life of Antoninus Pius, following Dio 70.11, in agreement with H.A. Antoninus 9.6.

15.1 ἐξ Ἀλανῶν (εἰσὶ δὲ Μασσάγεται) The Alani were a Sarmatian tribe. Two branches of the Sarmatians, who were nomadic peoples, were known to the Romans, one in eastern Europe, the other in the Caucasus. These were the Iazyges and Roxolani (the peoples who had been at war with Rome in 118; see note, 69.2.5, p. 34) who lived in Europe north of the Danube, and 2) the Aorsi and Alani of the Caucasus to the east of the kingdom of Bosphorus on the eastern shore of the Black Sea and east from there to the Don). The Alani were not strictly Massagetae, but lived in the same area and had once been their subjects (cf. Millar, REN, 281-293).

15.1 ὑπὸ Φαρασμάνου Pharasmanes II, king of the Iberi, a people of the Caucasus, was one of the few kings neighboring on the Roman Empire who dared to show any independence of Hadrian's control. (The evidence on Pharasmanes I and II is discussed by Tod, JRS 33 (1943), 85-86). He had proudly ignored Hadrian's invitation to meet in conference with other Eastern kings in 129 (H.A. Hadrian 13.9). Hadrian's most generous gifts were met with disdain. When Pharasmanes sent a gift of golden cloaks in return, Hadrian sent them into the arena on the backs of 300 criminals ad eius munera deridenda (ibid. 17.10-12). Evidently relations between them continued unsatisfactory. The Vita's summary of Hadrian's foreign policy implies criticism of Hadrian's conciliatory attitude to the Albani and Iberi (ibid. 21.10-14). Dio says that Pharasmanes was

responsible for stirring up the Alani to war. The accusations of Vologases against Pharasmanes (Dio 69.15.2; see below) probably refer to the same situation. Later, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, Pharasmanes came to Rome and was highly honored (Dio 69.15.3, placed after 70.1.1 by Boissevain; cf. H.A. Antoninus 9.6).

15.1 καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἀλβανίδα...ἀφάμενος Xiphilinus only mentions Media, omitting τὴν Ἀλβανίδα. Little is known about the actual circumstances of the invasion, which may have simply been a raiding expedition. The Alani were nomads and great horsemen. In the preceding century other attempts of the Alani to cross into Cappadocia, Armenia and Parthia had failed (Millar, REN 288). The invasion may have been threatening much earlier. The Vita says that Hadrian took serfs (servitia; cf. Rostovtzeff, SEHRE² 564, n. 7) from the Cappadocians for service in the military camps (H.A. Hadrian 13.7). This implies that when Hadrian visited Cappadocia (probably in 129; cf. Magie, RRAM 622)



from Shepherd's Atlas (9th ed.) p. 35.

he strengthened the provincial militia. It seems clear on the basis of Dio, however, that the Alani actually started to move only in 135 (after the Jewish war was settled). If Dio's short description is accurate, the Alani first moved down the western shore of the Caspian Sea, raiding Albania (τὴν Ἀλβανίδα) and Media (undoubtedly avoiding Iberia since Pharasmanes, the Iberian king, was encouraging their expedition), then, having experienced little opposition, they turned west into Armenia towards Cappadocia. They probably did not swing far south, for Arrian's forces seem to have been gathered in Lesser Armenia (the northern area of the Roman province of Cappadocia).

15.1 ἔπειτα...ἐπαύσατο The Alani advance came to an abortive end when they faced the assembled troops of the legatus of Cappadocia, Flavius Arrianus. The list of troops involved appears in Arrian's own report, the "ἑκταξίς κατ' Ἀλανῶν". The army of Cappadocia was quite large, with two legions; the XII Fulminata, stationed at Melitene in the south; and the XV Apollinaris, stationed at Satala in the north in lesser Armenia. The XII Fulminata furnished only one detachment to the army against the Alani; but the XV Apollinaris was present in strength, probably indicating that the army was assembled in the north of the province. Pelham, in his Essays (1911) 226-228, elucidates Arrian's information in the "ἑκταξίς". Eighteen auxiliary regiments out of twenty stationed in Cappadocia took part. The whole army in Cappadocia numbered about 23,000 men (cf. D'Orgeval, L'Empereur Hadrien, 371), of whom about 15,000 were assembled to face the Alan invasion. Perhaps

one-third of these were cavalry (4500 cavalry was the total in Cappadocia; D'Orgeval, 371). Many of the smaller units were native levies. Two Armenian leaders, Vasakes and Arbelus, were present, heading both infantry and cavalry units ("Εκταξις, 12-13). Neither Arrian's "Εκταξις nor Dio tells us that this army was actually used; perhaps as Dio implies, the threat was enough to stop the war. But Themistius, the fourth-century orator, mentions Arrian and a certain Rusticus, and says that they, as Roman generals, passed the Caspian gates, drove the Alani from Armenia, and settled the boundaries of Iberia and Albania (Orat. 34.8). A mutilated inscription from the Causausus which evidently mentions Arrian (AE 1905, 175, Suchum, in Russia) may be a reminder of this expedition.

15.1 ὑπὸ τοῦ Οὐολογαΐσου Vologaeses evidently took his cue from Hadrian, whose foreign policy was characterized by prudent benefactions. This Vologaeses has been identified with the king of Parthia, Vologaeses II (c. (105)-128-147; cf. RE Vologaeses 2); but the king of Armenia, Vologaeses, son of Sanatruces (cf. RE Vologaeses 3) is more likely; this is implied by parallelism in 15.1 (Armenia and Cappadocia, Vologaeses and Arrian); also the embassy sent to Rome by Vologaeses complaining of Pharasamanes (69.15.2) is more probably from Armenia than Parthia. Evidence that Vologaeses son of Sanatruces was actually king of Armenia at this time is slender, but Dio 75.9.6 (which must be placed after 68.30.3, under Trajan's reign) says he received part of Armenia; and the Vita confirms that Hadrian allowed Armenia to have its own king, H.A. Hadrian 21.11.

15.1 Φλάουτου 'Αρριανόν Arrian, the famous Greek historian (PIR² F 219), was born in Nicomedia in Bithynia, a compatriot of Dio, who wrote his biography according to the Suda (s.v. Δίων ὁ Κάσσιος). He is mentioned often in late literary sources (collected by Roos, Arrianus II, Leipzig, 1928). For an account of his career as legate of Cappadocia see Pelham, Essays (1911) 212-233. Arrian was unique in that, although a Greek, he rose to the command of legions and the defence of a Roman frontier. Hardly anything is known of his career before he became legate of Cappadocia. He was a student of the philosopher Epictetus; and, a philosopher himself, wrote dialogues and homilies which reflected Epictetus' ideas. Most of his serious writing was done after the reign of Hadrian; his very life, as well as his writings and style, consciously paralleled Xenophon (cf. the Suda s.v. 'Αρριανός; Stadter, GRBS 8 (1967) 155-161). He was suffect consul probably in 128 or 129 (Degrassi, p. 37) and then became legatus of Cappadocia. His Periplus, a description of the peoples around the Black Sea, written while he held this post, mentions the contemporaneous death of king Cotys of Bosphorus, which is usually dated to c. 132 (cf. BMC Pontus, p. 61; PIR² I 276). The most important inscription relating to Arrian (Smallwood no. 204, Sebastopol, Cappadocia) shows that he was still legate in 137. While holding this post he wrote a description of cavalry tactics in his own day (written c. 137, cf. Τάκτικα 44.3) and the "Ἐπιτάφιος mentioned above. In 138 he was no longer legate of Cappadocia (he was replaced by L. Burbuleius Optatus Ligurianus, Smallwood, no. 194, Minturnae, Latium) and there is no evidence for a fur-

ther Roman career. Evidently he gave up politics and went to Athens, to enjoy civic life and to write. He became an Athenian citizen and was archon of Athens (IG II/III² 2055), probably in 145/6 (cf. PIR). Here he wrote his history of Alexander's eastern expedition, the Ἀνάβασις. He also wrote a *Cynegetica*, and works on India, Parthia, and Bithynia, his homeland.

15.2 ὅτι πρεσβευτᾶς πεμφθέντας See introductory note to 69.15, p. 124.

16.1-2 Hadrian and Athens

Summary: Hadrian founded the Olympieion in Athens, where he himself has been honored. While holding the highest magistracy in Athens, he sponsored the Dionysia in brilliant fashion, wearing Greek dress. He entrusted the Greeks with the building of his own shrine, the Panhellenion, and established games in its connection. He granted the Athenians a great deal of money, an annual grain supply and the whole island of Cephallenia, and gave them laws.

A connected account of Hadrian's relations with Athens has to be constructed from fragmentary literary evidence and inscriptions (cf. Day, Economic History of Athens 183-196; and Graindor, Athènes sous Hadrien). Hadrian, who had been a philhellene from youth (H.A. Hadrian 1.5), returned to Greece three times during his reign, in 124/125, 128/129 and 131/132 (Weber, 156-194; 205-210; 268-274; also see note, 69.5.3, pp. 65-67). Hadrian visited Athens each time and presented new gifts to the city which had had the foresight to appoint him their archon in 111/12

(see note, 69.1.1, pp.14 and 17). Because Dio mentions Hadrian's initiation at Eleusis as ἐπόπτης in chronological context (in 128; Dio 69.11.1, and see note), one expects this section (16) to refer to the third visit to Athens in 131/132. In fact, the founding of the Panhellenion (69.16.2, see note p. 134) is dated to 131/132 (Smallwood no. 79, Epidauros). However, Dio also mentions Hadrian's archonship in Athens in this section, but Hadrian was archon eponymous in 111/112. If he was archon a second time as Emperor, which is improbable but not impossible, see note, 69.16.1, p. 133), that archonship cannot be dated. This section therefore cannot be used for chronology. It is merely a summary of Hadrian's relationship with Athens (but see 69.16.3, note on p. 137).

Hadrian's interest in Athens raised the city to the highest point of prosperity it had experienced for several hundred years, as well as the highest place of honor in the Greek world (cf. Day, Economic History, 183-196). After Hadrian's reign it became acceptable for Roman citizens of the west to show their interest in and identification with Greek culture by accepting Athenian citizenship. Hadrian's building in Athens included not only the Olympieion and Panhellenion, but also the library (a colonnaded cultural center, cf. Graindor, Athènes sous H. 230-245) and a gymnasium (Paus. 1.18.9), a bridge over Cephissus to facilitate reaching Eleusis at festival time (Jer. Chron. a.2139=124), a Pantheon where he had inscribed all the benefits he had given to Greek cities (Paus. 1.5.5) and an aqueduct later finished by Antoninus Pius (Smallwood no. 396). An arch which marks the entrance to the new "city of

Hadrian" was erected (Smallwood no. 485). Hadrian was not, however, so infatuated with Athens that he lost sight of political reality. The coin with the legend RESTITUTOR ACHAIÆ (BMC III, p. 349, no. 868), the only type issued for Greece, shows that Hadrian was mindful of both that country's economic weakness and political subordination to Rome.

16.1 Ἀδριανὸς δὲ τὸ τε Ὀλύμπιον...ἐξεποίησε The Olympieion was an enormous temple of Zeus which had probably been begun by the Pisistratids. In the second century B.C., Antiochus Epiphanes had made an attempt to finish it, but it was left for Hadrian to complete (cf. Wycherley, GRBS V (1964) 161-179). The Vita dates the dedication of the Olympieion to 128/129 (after Hadrian's visit to Africa in the summer of 128, H.A. Hadrian 13.6; opera, quae apud Athenienses coeperat, dedicavit, ut Iovis Olympii aedem et aram sibi). The first inscription which names Hadrian Ὀλύμπιος is dated 129 (SIG² 839, Ephesus), which confirms that the cult which connected Hadrian with Zeus had already been founded (cf. Magie, RRAM ch. 26, note 26). Or, as Graindor suggests, the work was started on Hadrian's visit in 124/125, a preliminary dedication took place in 128/129 and the completed temple was dedicated in 131/132 (Athènes sous Hadrien, 40-41) (see note 69.4.3, p. 44, for a comparable series of dates for the temple of Venus and Roma). According to Pausanias (1.18.6) there were four statues of Hadrian before the entrance, while many more were set up by individual Greek cities around the temple precincts. (Graindor lists inscriptions from statue bases set up by 22 cities and six individuals as well as numerous anonymous inscriptions, pp. 50-51, n. 2; many of the statues dedicated to Hadrian

may have been set up in 131/132, cf. IG II² 3289 and Hesperia 32 (1963) 58). The Athenians outdid everyone by placing a colossal statue of Hadrian behind the temple. Within the temple there was an enormous gold and ivory statue of Zeus (Paus. I.18.6).

Even before the Panhellenic council was formed, the effect of the Olym-
pieion was to provide a cult center for the Greek world and give Greeks
a strong pride in their place in the Roman empire. The title Olympios
was given to Hadrian by the Greeks in preference to Panhellenios even
after the Panhellenion was founded, for the two schemes were identified
in the Greek mind (cf. Benjamin, Hesperia 32 (1963) 59). When the Olym-
pieion was dedicated the sophist Polemo of Smyrna had the honor of pre-
senting a speech for the occasion rather than an Athenian (Phil. VS I
25, 533), an indication that the temple belonged to all the Greeks.

16.1 τὰ τε Διονύσια...ἐπεστέλεσε Hadrian had been agonothete
probably of the Dionysia (held in February/March) in 125 (H.A. Hadrian
13.1; cf. Graindor, Athènes sous Hadrien, p. 5, n. 4), but he was not
archon in that year. In fact Graindor (in Archontes Atheniens, 294-
295), does not mention any archonship for Hadrian as Emperor (he was
archon in 111/112, see note 69.1.2, p. 14). The Vita, like Dio, seems
to imply that Hadrian held the archonship in Athens as Emperor (H.A.
Hadrian 19.1, but the section has no chronological significance). Grain-
dor lists no known archon for 128/129, which is therefore the year in
which Hadrian could have held a second archonship, if he was archon as
Emperor.

16.2 τὸν τε σηκὸν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ...κατεστήσατο Dio describes the Panhellenion as a temple of a cult of Hadrian, in connection with which games were founded. According to Pausanias, the Panhellenion was built by Hadrian and dedicated to Zeus Panhellenios (1.18.9). A few examples exist of Hadrian bearing the title Panhellenios (cf. IGR IV 519, 552, 1157, all from Asia). Although the actual evidence is not very clear, it is likely that Hadrian did receive worship in the Panhellenion while alive; however, the statues (εἴκονες) in the Olympieion were not cult images (cf. Nock, HSCP 41 (1930) 3, 32-34). The statement that "he entrusted the building of his own sanctuary to the Greeks" indicates that Hadrian turned the responsibility for this work over to the Panhellenic council, a federation of Greek cities which was founded in 131/132 (cf. Smallwood no. 79, Epidauros), probably at Hadrian's suggestion. The council president (ἄρχων τῶν Πανελλήνων) was priest of the cult of Hadrian Panhellenios and also agonothete for the Panhellenic games (cf. Graindor, Athènes sous H., 103). This "federation" had little political significance; it increased Greek status and succeeded in uniting the Greeks in praise of Hadrian. Names of cities on the council have been collected (cf. Tod, JHS 42 (1922) 177; Oliver, Hesperia 20 (1951) 31-33), but the work of Benjamin (Hesperia 32 (1963) 74-83), in which she collects hundreds of scattered examples of a type of altar dedicated to Hadrian in connection with the founding of the Panhellenic league, indicates that hardly any Greek city of any size remained outside it.

16.2 χρήματά τε πολλὰ... τοῖς τε Ἀθηναίοις ἔχαρίσατο See Day, Economic History of Athens, 183-196, for Hadrian's many efforts to aid the Athenians. Jerome (Chron. a.2141=126) says Hadrian gave many gifts to Athens after his initiation at Eleusis, and mentions the building of temples and the library in 132 (Chron. a.2147). After Hadrian's visit in 131/132, he gave a large money gift to the ephebes for their gymnasium (Smallwood no. 445). At some time he endowed the Panathenaea (IG II/III² 869) and the gymasiarchy (IG II/III² 3220). The annual gift of grain mentioned by Dio reveals the weakness of the city's economy at this time. Philostratus tells how the sophist Lollianus, who was στρατηγός in Athens in Hadrian's time, was nearly stoned during a riot over a bread shortage. A cargo of grain had arrived, but the treasury was empty. The same man urged the Athenians in a speech not to sell their islands to fill the empty treasury (Phil. VS I.23,526; Suda s.v. Λολλιανός). Hadrian's gift of the island of Cephallenia seems inconsistent with the fact that Pale was a free and autonomous city c. 132 (IG II/III² 3301), therefore probably only the imperial estates on the island were transferred to Athens (cf. Day, Economic History, 188).

16.2 ἐνομοθέτησε δὲ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ Hadrian gave Athens a new code of laws, perhaps based on the old codes of Dracon and Solon as Jerome says (Chron. a.2138=123), but with a healthy admixture of new laws reflecting Roman ideas and contemporary reality. Graindor (Athènes sous H., 79) dates the reform to Hadrian's first visit to Athens as Emperor. The Athenians dated an era from Hadrian's arrival, in Septem-

ber of 124 (Graindor, Archontes Atheniens, 128). The month was named in Hadrian's honor (Athenes sous H., 57). Constitutional changes include a new tribe named for Hadrian (Paus. 1.5.5), which probably necessitated the contemporary change in number of the βουλή from 600 to 500 (Φ) (cf. Smallwood nos. 483 & 484). At the same time the assembly began to meet on the remodelled Pnyx (cf. Graindor, Athènes sous H., 83-85). Since an Athenian, Annius Pythodorus, calls himself νομοθέτης early in the reign (IG II² 1990), Graindor suggests that the Athenians rewrote their own constitution, with Hadrian's approval and support (p. 32). Hadrianic law reforms are discussed by Oliver in The Ruling Power, 960-963 (the Hadrianic oil law) and in ERE, 123-133, where he discusses an inscription (the opisthodomos inscription) which seems to indicate financial reform. The oil law (Smallwood no. 443) was a chapter in Hadrian's codification of Athenian law (κεφα(λαλον) νό(μων) θε(λοτάτου)), cf. Graindor, Athenes sous H., 78. The edict concerning the sale of fish at Eleusis (Smallwood no. 444) is another example of Hadrian's interest in Athenian legal affairs--this edict was intended to cut out middlemen in the interest of those who came to celebrate the mysteries. Hadrian's new laws did not touch the Athenian democratic system, but were mainly concerned with their inefficient financing and poor administration of justice (cf. Oliver, ERE 123-133). Hadrian also gave laws to Megara (perhaps they adopted the new laws of Athens), which calls him τὸν ἑαυτῶν κτίστην καὶ νομοθέτην καὶ τρόφεα (IG VII 772), and therefore perhaps to other Greek cities. Also, at Elatea, Oliver postulates a financial reorganization similar to that at Athens (ERE 131; from IG IX 1.144).

16.2 καὶ ἵνα μηδεὶς βουλευτῆς...τέλος τι μισθῶται The context shows that this is a law of Athens. An imperial edict on tax-farming in Athens from the Hadrianic period concerns those who did not pay their obligations to Rome on time and imposes fines and confiscation of sureties (IG II/III² 1104). If related to Dio's law, it implies that Athenian 'senators' (probably the members of the Areopagus) had been able to use their official position to make illicit profits from tax collection (cf. Day, Economic History, 193-194).

16.3 ἐς δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλθόν This phrase indicates that Dio, in his original work, was still attempting to maintain chronological structure.

16.3 ἐπεὶ ἔν τινι θεῷ For Hadrian's strict attitude towards the commons at games, cf. 69.6.1-3.

17 The First Arrangement for the Succession (136).

Summary: When Hadrian became very sick he expected to die and therefore made Lucius Commodus Caesar, although he too suffered from hemorrhages. Hadrian then put his brother-in-law Servianus and Servianus' grandson Fuscus to death. Servianus swore his innocence and cursed Hadrian. Servianus was, in fact, a man worthy to be Emperor.

17.1 ἀρξάμενος δὲ νοσεῖν The hemorrhaging through the nose which Dio says caused Hadrian to despair of his life is presumably the violent

hemorrhage which almost killed him just before the adoption of Aelius Caesar in 136 (H.A. Hadrian 23.7). While Aelius Caesar lived, Hadrian was still able to get about (cf. H.A. Aelius 4.2), although he evidently withdrew into semi-retirement (Vict. Caes. 14.5-6), but his health broke sharply after the death of Aelius (on January 1, 138) (H.A. Hadrian 24.1). After this Hadrian was confined to his bed (cf. Dio 69.20.1; H.A. Hadrian 23.1). His symptoms--hemorrhaging, dropsy (Dio 69.20.1), fever (H.A. Hadrian 25.3-4) and intense pain (Epit. 14.12)--indicate tuberculosis (φθόνη, Dio 69.20.1; discussion with Dr. R.S. Fraser, University of Alberta Department of Medicine, March 29, 1972). According to Dio, Hadrian used magic in a vain attempt to control his dropsy (69.22.1). Finally he became depressed and began to attempt suicide (H.A. Hadrian 24.8). The Vita lists three separate suicide attempts (H.A. Hadrian 24.8-12), while Dio describes one attempt in detail (69.22.1-3). After this Hadrian was guarded, for Antoninus felt that he could not allow his adopted father to commit suicide (H.A. Hadrian 24.9-10; Epit. 14.2). In desperation, Hadrian abandoned his controlled diet (Dio 69.22.4) and finally died on July 10, 138 (H.A. Hadrian 25.6). Dio explicitly relates Hadrian's suffering to the fulfillment of the prayer of the innocent Servianus (Dio 69.17.2). The relationship between Hadrian's suffering and his erratically cruel behavior in his last years was recognised by the ancient sources (H.A. Hadrian 23.7; 25.8; Epit. 14.9).

17.1 Κόμμοδον μὲν Λούκιον...Καίσαρα Ῥωμαίοις ἀπέδειξε

For Lucius Ceionius Commodus (=L. Aelius Caesar), cf. PIR² C 605. He was born into a good Italian family (H.A. Aelius 2.8, Verus 1.7-9). He

was the step-son of the Nigrinus who conspired against Hadrian (ILS 8217; see note, 69.2.5 for Nigrinus), he was also Nigrinus' son-in-law (cf. H.A. Hadrian 23.8; Birley's stemmata for Lucius, note on 69.21.1, p. 151). The story of his adoption as Aelius Caesar may be found in H.A. Hadrian 23.10-16 as well as the derivative H.A. Aelius. Carcopino has argued convincingly that Aelius Caesar was actually Hadrian's bastard son (REA 51 (1949) 262-321; the strongest argument in favor of this is that Hadrian did not scruple to sacrifice his closest relatives, Servianus and Fuscus, to his adoption of Aelius. In light of Roman mores, there is nothing unlikely in the possibility that Hadrian and others were aware of his paternity without allowing this to become commonly asserted (cf. Syme on bastards in the Roman aristocracy, PAPS 104 (1960) 323-327). Commodus was not only ill when he was made Caesar, he was unsuited to the succession in character. The H.A. Aelius (5) describes him as an idle and luxurious young man. Even Hadrian conceded that he had no great merit (H.A. Aelius 4.1-3). This may well be fiction, but he had held few offices, only the praetorship in 130 (cf. H.A. Verus 1.8); he was appointed consul in 136, shortly before being named Caesar (in contrast with Hadrian's own strenuous early career, see note, 69.11.1, pp. 12-14). He was neither ambitious nor especially advanced by Hadrian. In contrast, the favor and advancement given to the family of Marcus Aurelius was striking (see note, 69.21.1). There must have been general incredulity at the choice of Lucius Commodus as Caesar, and in fact the adoption was opposed widely (invitis omnibus, H.A. Hadrian 23.11), not merely by Hadrian's brother-in-law Servianus (see notes, 69.17.1-3, pp. 141-144). Later events indicate that Hadrian was thinking of the succession already in 135, when he arranged for the

betrothal of Marcus Aurelius (then Marcus Annius Verus, see note, 69.21.1, p. 156) to Ceionia Fabia, a daughter of Commodus. Commodus was adopted in 136, since he was appointed consul II for 137 under his new official name L. Aelius Caesar. His adoption was celebrated by a seventh congiarium of the enormous sum of either 300 or 400 million sesterces (H.A. Hadrian 23.14; Aelius 3.3; 6.1; cf. BMC III, p. 472). Races were held in the circus (H.A. Aelius 3.3) and coins of Aelius with hopeful legends (Felicitas, Concordia, Spes, Salus) were issued (BMC III, pp. 364-368). Aelius received tribunician power and, despite his poor health, was appointed governor of the two Pannonias (H.A. Hadrian 23.3; Smallwood no. 119, an inscription of Aelius from Arrabona, Pannonia Superior). The appointment provided Aelius with the experience of military command and he carried off the task adequately (H.A. Aelius 3.5). The coin with the legend Pannonia from Hadrian's provincial series bears the bust of Aelius Caesar, rather than Hadrian, on the obverse (BMC III, pp. 544, 547). As Caesar, Aelius had great influence with Hadrian (H.A. Aelius 3.4). He had his own staff, including an ab epistulis (Domitius Rogatus, Smallwood, no. 258, Rome) and he was responsible for the grant of municipal status to the town of Coila in the Thracian Chersonese (Smallwood no. 489; coin of Aelium Municipium Coila, with head of Aelius on obverse). Aelius seemed equal to his role as Caesar, and he was duly designated cos. III for 139 (cf. BMC III, p. 548*), but he was nevertheless seriously ill (cf. H.A. Hadrian 23.14) and he died on January 1, 138 (ibid. 23.16), something over a year after becoming Caesar. Hadrian was stricken with grief at his death (note H.A. Aelius 7.7, doluit ergo illius mortem, ut bonus pater, non ut bonus princeps). There is no

coin evidence that Aelius was consecrated (cf. Mattingly, BMC III, clxxvi), but Hadrian honored him with an imperial funeral (H.A. Aelius 6.6), and erected statues and temples in his honor (H.A. Aelius 7.1). Meanwhile, Hadrian's plans for the succession had to be revised (see notes, 69.20-22). When Antoninus Pius, who had no living son, was marked out as the new successor in February, 138 (cf. H.A. Antoninus 4.6), it was on the condition that he adopt Lucius, son of Aelius Caesar, guaranteeing Aelius' line a place in the succession, as well as Marcus Annius Verus (the future Emperor Marcus Aurelius), whose place in the succession scheme had been intimated several years earlier (see note, 69.21.1, and Marcus' engagement to Aelius Caesar's daughter Ceionia Fabia, above). Possibly Aelius Caesar had agreed to adopt Marcus himself (cf. H.A. Hadrian 24.1; the original text (et eadem lege) implies that an arrangement similar to that accepted by Antoninus had been made with Aelius Caesar).

17.1-3 Σερουιανὸν δὲ καὶ Φούσκον...ἐφόνευσε Dio says that Servianus and Fuscus were put to death (forced to commit suicide) after the adoption of Aelius Caesar (summer (?), 136). Scattered references to their deaths in the Vita are in no clear chronological context (H.A. Hadrian 15.8; 23.2-3; 23.8, 25.8, sub ipso mortis [Hadriani] tempore). Their deaths preceded the adoption of Antoninus Pius (February 25, 138), who prevented such incidents (H.A. Hadrian 25.8). Ancient analyses of their horoscopes (cf. Cramer, Astrology, 175-178) date their deaths to 138, but it should be noted that the horoscopes make both

Servianus and Fuscus seven years older than Dio's figures. I believe the incident should be placed in 137, perhaps in late 136. Servianus (cf. PIR² I 631), who was at least ninety at his death, had had a distinguished career, established long before his brother-in-law Hadrian became Emperor. He was suffect consul in the 90's (cf. Syme, JRS 43 (1953) 156; Gnomon 29 (1957) 522). He evidently replaced Trajan in Germania Superior after Trajan became Emperor and then became governor of Pannonia (cf. Pliny, Epist. 8.23.5). A Spaniard like Hadrian (cf. Etienne, ERE 61), he was already married to Hadrian's sister at this time (cf. H.A. Hadrian 2.6). According to a dubious story in the Vita, Servianus did his best to discourage Trajan's good opinion of Hadrian (H.A. Hadrian 8.11). Servianus was nearly ten years older than Trajan, and was a trusted adviser (cf. Pliny, Epist. 10.2.1). He perhaps participated in Trajan's Dacian war (c. 102-105, cf. Syme, JRS 47 (1957) 131); he had been consul II ordinarius in 102 and, significantly, shared the post first with Licinius Sura, Trajan's trusted adviser, and then with a certain L. Fabius Justus. Evidently he had been adopted shortly before by a Trajanic prefect, Julius Ursus (cf. Syme, Tacitus 636). He later betrothed his daughter Julia to Fuscus Salinator (Pliny, Epist. 6.26, c. 105-108); Salinator was a promising young man of good family (ibid. 6.11), and of Hadrian's generation (he was consul with Hadrian in 118). Pliny's letters (cf. also 7.6.8) confirm that Servianus was highly honored by Trajan. When Hadrian became Emperor, Servianus was about seventy years old, and, although probably retired, he remained physically active until his death (cf. H.A. Hadrian 23.8). The Vita indicates that Servianus and his family lived with Hadrian (cf. H.A. Had-

rian 8.11; 23.8). Hadrian willingly gave Servianus due respect, according to H.A. Hadrian 8.11, but this passage may derive from Hadrian's own words, for it says that Hadrian generously gave Servianus a third consulship without his even requesting it, neglecting to mention that the honor was bestowed in 134, seventeen years after Hadrian became the dispenser of consulships, and thirty-two years after the previous consulship of Servianus. Servianus was therefore made consul at perhaps eighty-eight years of age, when he was very old to bear the burden of office, and probably too late to please his wife, Hadrian's sister, who died around this time (see note, 69.11.4). In fact Hadrian was consistent in his neglect of his sister, her husband and their family. Although he shared the consulate of 118 with Hadrian, Fuscus Salinator, the husband of Hadrian's niece, Julia, is not heard of again. Probably he was dead long before 136, when his son, the Fuscus mentioned by Dio, was killed with Servianus. It seems probable that it was the younger Fuscus who was excited by omens to hope for Empire (cf. H.A. Hadrian 23.3). Several explanations are offered by the sources for Hadrian's act of forcing the two to suicide: 1) Hadrian hated anyone whom he respected highly (cf. H.A. Hadrian 15.2-9); 2) he could not bear to be survived by Servianus (ibid. 15.8); 3) Hadrian thought of Servianus as a possible successor, (ibid. 23.2; see note, Dio 69.17.3); and 4) Servianus and Fuscus showed displeasure at his adoption of Commodus (Dio 69.17.1). Dio's explanation seems the most likely. Geer has suggested that Hadrian's killing of Servianus and Fuscus showed the strength of the dynastic ideal; the succession of surviving kinsmen had a strong claim (TAPA 67 (1936) 54).

17.2 πρὶν δὲ ἀποσφαγῆναι, ὁ Σεβουιανὸς πῦρ ἤτησε Dio 76.7.5 tells the story of Quintillus Plautianus, an elderly senator informed against under Severus, who said, before he died, that he made the same prayer Servianus had prayed for Hadrian. Plautianus was a relative of Severus, and was therefore a danger to the accession of Caracalla. The story of Servianus' prayer therefore evidently belong to the established folklore in Dio's day (cf. Millar, Cassius Dio 62). Hadrian's prolonged illness fulfilled Servianus' prayer (see note, 69.17.1, p. 138).

17.3 ἔστι γε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιστολὴ Although it is not the same letter, there is a fragment of a letter of Hadrian to Antoninus extant in which Hadrian states that he has reached an age where death is expected and welcome (Smallwood no. 123=P. Fayum, 19, cf. Alexander, HSCP 49 (1938) 170-172). The letter was probably included in a textbook on composition, and illustrates how some primary sources on Hadrian might have remained available in Dio's time.

17.3 δέκα ἄνδρας μοναρχεῖν δυναμένους Xiphilinus attributes this story to Trajan, not Hadrian, but Boissevain accepts the emendation of Reimarius to 'Hadrian' (cf. Boissevain, Dio III, p. 237, n. on line 6). The Vita does say that Servianus came to mind as soon as Hadrian began to consider the succession (H.A. Hadrian 23.3), but this does not seem to justify changing the text here.

18-19 The Praetorian Prefects Turbo and Similis

Summary: The good men of the time included the famous Turbo and Similis. Turbo, who was praetorian prefect, always acted as a common man. Late one night Fronto was going home from a dinner when a client told him that Turbo was already at work. Fronto went straight into the court and greeted Turbo with the greeting proper for evening. Once when Turbo was sick he told Hadrian that the prefect must die on his feet. Similis was also outstanding in position and character. When he was centurion and was received by Trajan before the prefects he reproved Trajan for the breach of protocol. Late he held the post of praetorian prefect although he did not want it, and his epitaph states that he only 'lived' the seven years after his resignation.

Again Dio uses anecdotes. Perhaps he means to implicitly contrast these virtuous men with the praetorian prefects of his own time, in particular Severus' powerful prefect Plautianus. Chronological relevance is lacking. Turbo was praetorian prefect through most of Hadrian's reign, while Similis was praetorian prefect under Trajan and was replaced early in Hadrian's reign by Septicius Clarus, at the same time as Turbo replaced Attianus (H.A. Hadrian 9.4-5). Dio links the two on account of their high character and hard work. He does not mention that both are exceptional in rising to the highest position of the equestrian rank from the level of common soldiers. Nor does Dio seem to realise, although he is the source of our evidence, that it was at just this point that the praetorian prefects became important as jurists and accepted on the Emperor's consilium (see note, 69.18.3).

18.1 Τούρβων μὲν...ἀρχων τῶν δορυφόρων The most recent collection of information on Q. Marcius Turbo Fronto Publicius Severus is in Syme, JRS 52 (1962) 87-91; see also Pflaum's discussion in Carrières, 199-216. Turbo had evidently been centurion of the legio II Adiutrix in Pannonia Inferior (cf. CIL III 14349²). Hadrian was legate of this legion, probably in 95, but whether he first met Turbo at that time cannot be established. However, the rise of a centurion to high office is normally owed to patronage (Syme, op. cit. 91). Similis was on good terms with Trajan when he was still a centurion (cf. Dio 69.18.1), a fact which is certainly related to his rise to the praetorian prefecture. Turbo's rise was also due to Trajan (for his early career, cf. Smallwood no. 267a). After becoming primus pilus bis, which made him eligible for equestrian status, he held several posts in Italy. He was then made prefect of the praetorian fleet at Misenum, which he still commanded in 114 (Smallwood no. 345). No inscription survives listing Turbo's posts from 114-119, and we must depend mainly on the information in the Vita. Turbo was already numbered among Hadrian's supporters before Hadrian was adopted by Trajan (H.A. Hadrian 4.2). While Trajan was involved with the war in Parthia, Turbo was sent against the Jewish revolts of 115-117 in Alexandria and Cyrene (Euseb. Hist. Eccl. IV.2.2; cf. H.A. Hadrian 5.8, Marcio Turbone Iudaeis conpressis; discussion in Musurillo, Acts of the Pagan Martyrs, 182-184). Turbo's mobility in this period suggests that he was still commander of the fleet. After these revolts had been quelled, Turbo was dispatched by the new Emperor Hadrian to suppress an uprising in Mauretania (H.A. Hadrian 5.8), which was quickly brought under control. He was then given charge of Pannonia

and Dacia, and was honored by Hadrian with the insignia of the prefect of Egypt quo plus auctoritatis haberet (H.A. Hadrian 6.7). The post, at least the appointment to Dacia, was assigned "ad tempus" (H.A. Hadrian 6.7), that is, it was a temporary appointment for a specific purpose. This irregular arrangement must be related to Nigrinus' loss of his post as legatus of Dacia (see note, 69.2.5, p. 34) and the war against the Sarmatians in the spring of 118. Hadrian made Turbo praetorian prefect as soon as he could engineer the replacement of Attianus (see note, 69.1.1, p. 21), that is, in 119. Sarmizegetusa in Dacia set up an inscription in honor of her former governor after he became praetorian prefect (Smallwood no. 267b). Turbo held the office until the end of Hadrian's reign, when he too fell into disfavor (H.A. Hadrian 15.7). Perhaps he was the prefect replaced by Hadrian when Aelius Caesar was dying (H.A. Aelius 6.3). In the Vita his fall is mentioned with that of Catilius Severus, who did not support the adoption of Antoninus (in 138, see note, 69.21.1, p. 158). Turbo was replaced by one of the praetorian prefects of Antoninus, who were M. Petronius Mamertinus and M. Gavius Maximus.

18.3 Κορνήλιος Φρόντων For the details of Fronto's career, cf. PIR² C 1364. A famous lawyer (i.e. orator) under both Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, he is best known today for his correspondence with Marcus Aurelius and other contemporary figures of the imperial court (cf. intro. in Haines, Fronto v-xlii, (Loeb) London, 1919). Fronto was appointed tutor to Marcus and Lucius (Dio 75.35.1; ILS 1129), probably soon after Hadrian's death. According to Dio, Fronto was Rome's foremost

orator at the time of the incident in Turbo's court (τῶν τότε); dating is difficult. Nevertheless, the date generally indicated by the context (c. 136) is not unsuitable. Fronto was probably born about 100, for he became suffect consul in 143. Under Hadrian, as he shamelessly admitted to Marcus in a letter, he often rose to praise the Emperor in the Senate, never, of course expressing his true feelings (ad. M. Caes. 2.1). The specific incident here seems likely to be taken from a book of anecdotes. Lucian's satire pro lapsu in salutando implies a contemporary over-emphasis on the appropriateness of salutations. Dio's anecdote might also have come from one of Fronto's much-read speeches. Fronto mentions Marcus Turbo as a friend of a friend in a letter to Antoninus (ad Antoninum Pium 3).

18.3 ἐς το δικάσθηριον αὐτοῦ This is the first recorded instance of the court of the praetorian prefect. Turbo is the subject; cf. also δικάζειν αὐτὸν ἤδη. Turbo's career was a military one, and as praetorian prefect he had charge of military jurisdiction in Rome. But by the time of Marcus Aurelius praetorian prefects were members of the Emperor's consilium and were chosen from men trained in the law (cf. H.A. Marcus 11.10). It has been suggested that Turbo was the first praetorian prefect to have a seat on the consilium, which he would have earned by his ability (cf. Crook, Consilium Principis, 140). This is supported by the reference in the Vita to equites in the consilium of Hadrian (H.A. Hadrian 8.8-9).

18.4 εἶπεν ὅτι... ἐστῶτα ἀποθνήσκειν δεῖ In Suetonius Vespasian says this: "imperatorem ait stantem mori oportere" (Vesp. 24).

Dio repeats the story in regard to Vespasian (66.17). The fact that Turbo said the same thing indicates that this was the conventionally correct attitude already in Roman times for those who bore burdens of state. It is not evident that Turbo was actually near death when he spoke.

19.1 ὁ δὲ δὴ Σίμιλις The most recent study of Servius Sulpicius Similis is by Stein, in Präfekten von Ägypten 53-55; also cf. RE Sulpicius 104. The career of Similis is exceptional, since Dio tells us he was on friendly terms with the Emperor Trajan while still a centurion (at the earliest in 98, when Trajan became emperor); while in the summer of 107 he had risen to the top of the equestrian rank, holding the post of prefect of Egypt (P. Amherst II 64; cf. Smallwood no. 282, an inscription in the temple of Sarapis, in the Thebaid, dated 108/109). He was succeeded as prefect of Egypt by Rutilius Lupus before January 113 (cf. Stein, op. cit. 55). He was later made praetorian prefect by Trajan, probably before Trajan set off for the Parthian war in October 113, for at such a time Trajan needed a stable situation in Rome. Hadrian replaced Similis with Sulpicius Clarus in 119, although the Vita tells us that Hadrian was thus removing from office a man to whom he owed the Empire (H.A. Hadrian 9.6). Probably Similis had been instrumental in keeping the praetorians in Rome loyal and quiet during the precarious transfer of power. The anecdote Dio includes about his epitaph indicates that Similis had found the praefecture gruelling work. The story is found without names in the scholiast on Persius Satires II,

indicating that again Dio was using an anecdote with an independent life of its own.

20-21 The Second Arrangement for the Succession (spring, 138)

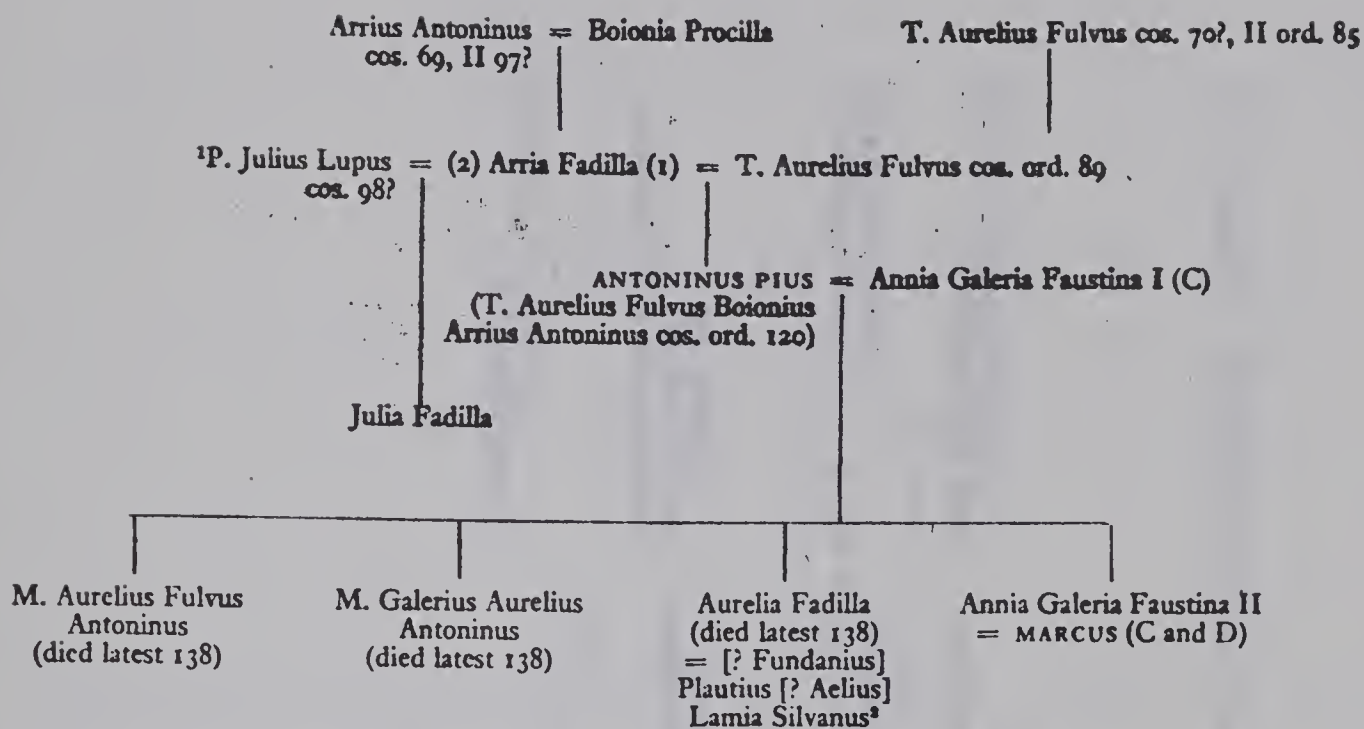
Summary: Lucius Commodus (Aelius Caesar) died suddenly of a severe hemorrhage. Hadrian then called the noblest of the senators to his home, and speaking to them from his couch, he told them that he had chosen again to adopt a man better than nature could have provided him, Aurelius Antoninus. Since Antoninus was childless, Hadrian had him adopt the son of Lucius Commodus, and also Marcus Annius Verus, the grandson of the Annius Verus who was consul three times and urban praetor. Hadrian actually preferred the young Marcus because of his family connections, his age and his strength of character.

Besides Dio, evidence for the adoption of Antoninus is found in H.A.

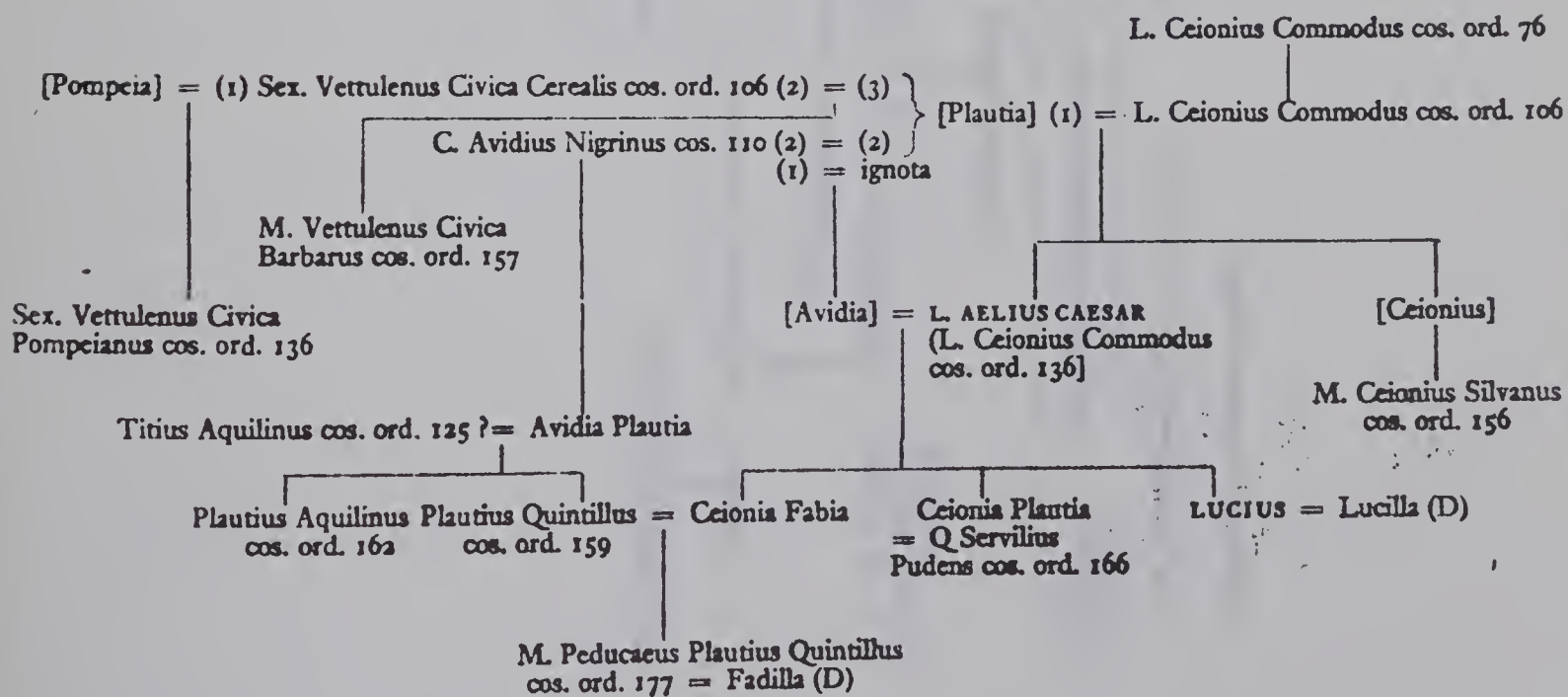
Hadrian 24; Antoninus 4; also Aelius 2; 6.9; Verus 1.6; Marcus 5.1.

Hadrian chose Antoninus on the condition that he adopt Marcus Annius Verus (the future Emperor Marcus Aurelius) and Lucius, the son of Commodus (who was co-ruler with Marcus from 161-168). Dio misinterprets Hadrian's intentions. Hadrian did not have Antoninus, his newly chosen successor, adopt Lucius and Marcus because he had no sons; Antoninus was chosen with this in view. Hadrian did not simply wish to arrange for the succession as far in advance as possible, he wished to arrange the succession of the two boys. In spite of the apparent 'best man' principle of the Antonine Emperors, it was actually a dynastic principle which determined all successions in the Empire (cf. Carcopino, REA 51

ANTONINUS PIUS



LUCIUS



(1949) 262-321, Beranger, REL 17 (1939) 171-187, Geer, TAPA 67 (1936) 47-54: Pflaum, H.-A.-Colloquium Bonn 1963, 95-122, disagrees, arguing that the senatorial clan factions were decisive in the case of the succession to Hadrian, but he admits that this makes Hadrian's plans "tortuous", p. 104). It is generally agreed that Antoninus Pius was chosen as a place-holder for the next generation, but whether, as Dio says, Hadrian preferred Marcus, is doubtful (see note, 69.21.2, pp. 158-159).

20.1 Ἀδριανὸς δὲ φθοῇ...ἔχρητο For Hadrian's illness, see note, 69.17.1.

20.1 τὸν Λούκιον τὸν Κόμμοδον...ἐγκαταλειφθῆναι For the adoption of Lucius Commodus as Aelius Caesar, see 69.17, p.138-141. He died on January 1, 138 (H.A. Hadrian 23.16).

20.1 συνεκάλεσε τοὺς πρώτους καὶ...εἶπεν αὐτοῖς τάδε The adoption of Antoninus took place on February 25, 138, on which day Antoninus made a speech of thanks in the senate (H.A. Antoninus 4.6). The speech supposedly delivered by Hadrian is the only speech extant in the life of Hadrian, and deals with the question Dio felt was most important in Hadrian's reign. Speeches in Dio are meant to be dramatic presentations of particular questions, often bearing on how a good king should rule, and they are influenced by Dio's own opinion (cf. Millar, Cassius Dio, 78-83). From Dio's viewpoint, the most important act in Hadrian's reign

was his choice of a good successor. Dio therefore implies that Hadrian chose Antoninus as the optimus vir. In fact, Hadrian had preferred Aelius Caesar, who was not a vir optimus. It has been suggested that the essentials of the speech were taken from an official statement (cf. Carcopino, REA 51(49) 286, n. 6), but this was not necessary. The ideas were common property (cf. Tacitus, Hist. I.15-16, the adoption of Piso by Galba; Pliny, Pan. on Trajan's adoption by Nerva). The importance of style over content is apparent; the speech is contrived in a style which includes parallelism, continual alliteration and assonance, and even internal rhyme. It is probably uncut, as it is disproportionately long in the present text.

21.1 ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος αὐτοκράτωρ ἐγένετο For details on the life of T. Aurelius Fulvus Boionius Arrius Antoninus Pius, cf PIR² A 1513. Antoninus was born on September 19, 86 (H.A. Antoninus 1.8), and was just ten years younger than Hadrian. He belonged to a patrician family of Nemausus in Gallia Transalpina (H.A. Antoninus 1.1), and held the post of consul ordinarius in 120 (cf. Degrassi, p. 35). The fact that he held this early consulship under Hadrian indicates that he was counted among Hadrian's prominent allies from the start. Other consules ordinarii early in Hadrian's reign include Pedanius Fuscus, the husband of Hadrian's niece Julia (cos. 118); Dasumius Rusticus, a member of a prominent Spanish family (cos. 119); Catilius Severus, who was related to the future Emperor Marcus Aurelius (cos. II, 120, with Antoninus); and Annius Verus, the grandfather of Marcus Aurelius (cos. II, 121). Although one source claims Antoninus was related to Hadrian (Epit. 15.2),

this cannot be proven. In inscriptions from Antoninus' reign, Matidia II (Sabina's sister) is named matertera (maternal aunt) of Antoninus (cf. CIL VI 1007), but arguments that Antoninus' adoption would not legally produce this relationship seem invalid. Hadrian called both Trajan and Plotina his 'parents' (see note, 69.1.2, p. 24); similarly Antoninus named both Hadrian and Sabina his parents (ILS 322). One of the posts of Antoninus under Hadrian was the judicial administration of one of four divisions of Italy instituted by Hadrian (H.A. Antoninus 2.11 and 3.1; Antoninus was given the area in which he owned the most land; which speaks for his probity). He later became proconsul of Asia, a post which is recorded in connection with incidents with Polemo (Phil., VS 1.25, 534) and Herodes Atticus (ibid. 2.1, 554), incidents which again indicate his upright character. Later in Rome, he was a member of Hadrian's advisory council (H.A. Antoninus 3.8). His adoption, which took place on February 25, 138 (he had been given some time to consider the terms (ibid. 4.4)), was commemorated by the coins which appeared in the few months before he became Emperor on July 10, 138 (BMC III, pp. 369-372, 549-552). One coin of Antoninus as Caesar shows Pietas shielding two boys on the reverse (BMC III, p. 550, no. 1947). All the sources on Antoninus emphasize the goodness of the man; in particular, Aurelius Victor, who presents Hadrian as vicious, makes Antoninus a complete contrast (Caes. 15.1). Various stories of how Antoninus got the name Pius are recorded (H.A. Hadrian 24.3-5; Antoninus 2.3-7; Victor, Caes. 14.10-11). While Caesar, for just over four months in 138, Antoninus bore more of the burden of state than Aelius had. In fact, the Vita says that Hadrian went to Baiae and left Antoninus in Rome ad imperandum

(H.A. Hadrian 25.5). Antoninus' titulature as Caesar confirms this. Besides the tribunician power, he bore the title imperator before his name, the 'honorific title of sovereignty,' which Aelius had not held (cf. Beranger, ERE 37).

21.1 τὸν τε Κομμόδου υἱὸν Κόμμοδον For the details of the life of L. Ceionius Commodus, later Emperor Lucius Verus, cf. PIR² C 606, and Barnes, JRS 57 (1967) 65-69. At the time of his adoption by Antoninus, the son of Aelius Caesar was only seven years old (he was born during his father's praetorship in 130, H.A. Verus 1.8). See also note, 69.21.2, pp. 158-159, with Birley's stemmata, p. 151.

21.1 ἦν δὲ οὗτος ὁ Ἄννιος <ὁ> Μάρκος For information on the early career of Marcus Annius Verus, the later Emperor Marcus Aurelius, cf. PIR² A 697; also A. Birley, Marcus Aurelius. Marcus was not yet seventeen at the time of his adoption into the royal house (he was born April 26, 121, H.A. Marcus 1.5). Evidently his important family connections were influential on his career from early boyhood (cf. Dio's συγγένειαν, 69.21.2, and see note, p.159, which suggests that Marcus was chosen by Hadrian because of his relatives. He was the grandson of Annius Verus, from Uccubi in Spain, who had been consul three times (cos. II in 121, cos. III in 126) recalling the career of Licinius Sura under Trajan, cos. II in 102, cos. III in 107; cf. Degrassi). The extraordinary position of Annius Verus under Hadrian (he was also praefectus urbis) must be recognized. Marcus became a knight equo publico at age six and

a member of the Salian priesthood at eight. He assumed the toga virilis at fifteen and was betrothed to the daughter of Commodus, Ceionia Fabia, at the same time (H.A. Marcus 4.5). This was very significant, since Hadrian soon after adopted Commodus. Marcus was next honored with the post of praefectus feriarum latinorum, a post Hadrian had held when a young man of 18 (see note, 69.1.1, p. 12). At the beginning of 138, Marcus' prospective father-in-law, Aelius Caesar, died. Then, on February 25, 138 (H.A. Antoninus 4.4) the new succession arrangements of Hadrian were formalized. Marcus was adopted by his uncle Antoninus (who was the husband of Marcus' paternal aunt, Annia Faustina), and Marcus received his gens name Aurelius (H.A. Marcus 5.5). At the same time Marcus moved into the imperial palace, a necessity which caused him dismay, since the young philosopher was not attracted by the imperial power (H.A. Marcus 5.3-4). Marcus was also designated quaestor by Hadrian for the year 139, well before the usual age of 24 (H.A. Marcus 5.6).

21.1 ὁ Κατίλιος πρότερον ὀνομαζόμενος Cf. H.A. Marcus 1.9 which says that Catilius Severus was Marcus' original name. We would therefore expect some relationship to L. Catilius Severus (PIR² C 558), prefect of the city at the time of Marcus' adoption; perhaps he was Marcus' step-grandfather (cf. Syme, Tacitus 793, n. 3). Catilius Severus had held trusted positions throughout Hadrian's reign. When Hadrian left Syria after becoming Emperor, he turned the province over to Catilius Severus, who had formerly been the one and only governor of Armenia, a post he was appointed to by Trajan. He became consul II ordinarius in 120, notably sharing the fasces with T. Aurelius Fulvus Boionius Arrius

Antoninus, the future Emperor Antoninus Pius. The desire of Catilius Severus to be included in the succession plan (or merely his eligibility) led to his loss of his post as prefect of the city (H.A. Hadrian 24.7). The Vita lists Ummidius Quadratus, Catilius Severus and Turbo together as victims of Hadrian's persecution (H.A. Hadrian 15.7 for Turbo, see note, 69.18.1, p.146). Since Ummidius Quadratus was the father-in-law of Marcus' sister Cornificia (cf. H.A. Marcus 7.4), it seems possible that these three were united in opposition to the adoption of Antoninus as regent for Marcus and Lucius. Antoninus, however, protected those who fell into Hadrian's disfavor at the end of his life (H.A. Hadrian 25.8).

21.2 προετίμησε δὲ τὸν Οὐῆρον "Hadrian preferred Marcus." Cf. H.A. Marcus 1.10; Marcus was called Annius Verus after he donned the toga virilis. That the Verus here mentioned is Marcus (Marcus Annius Verus, cf. PIR² A 697), is confirmed by διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν, which means that he had reached manhood (Marcus was seventeen; Lucius only seven), and by the mention of his character. Although the Vita names Lucius' father Commodus 'Verus' (H.A. Hadrian 23.11) and also calls Lucius by this name (H.A. Antoninus 4.5), according to inscriptions neither was originally named Verus (cf. Stein, PIR² C 605); Marcus gave Lucius his own name Verus after he became Emperor (H.A. Marcus 7.5). Modern scholars have disputed whether Hadrian really preferred Marcus. Pflaum believes he did (H.A. Colloquium Bonn 1963, 91-121, quoting as support H.A. Marcus 16.6,7; 19.10. It is worth noting that whereas Hadrian did not receive magistracies before the usual age

(this is one indication of a chosen successor), Marcus did receive this honor, being made quaestor at seventeen (H.A. Marcus 5.6). Barnes (JRS 57 (1967) 65-69) and Carcopino (REA 67 (1965) 67-69) believe Hadrian actually preferred Lucius. Barnes cites a relief of the royal family from the end of Hadrian's reign which supports the claim of Lucius (cf. J. Toynbee, Art of the Romans, 1965, pl. 42). Lucius is the center of the composition; portrayed directly beneath the scepter of power, he stands between Hadrian and Antoninus, while Hadrian's arm rests protectingly on his shoulder. Marcus stand slightly behind Hadrian on one side, while Faustina (Antoninus' daughter, to whom Lucius was betrothed) peers over her father's shoulder. Hadrian's desire that these two should marry (H.A. Verus 2.3) indicates that Hadrian wished to tie Antoninus to Lucius. (Once Antoninus became Emperor, he broke this arrangement and betrothed Faustina to Marcus; this also involved breaking the betrothal of Lucius' sister Ceionia Fabia, to Marcus; clearly showing that Antoninus preferred Marcus).

21.2 διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν I believe this should be translated "on account of his family connections." It has usually been taken to mean that Marcus was related to Hadrian, but this relationship has not been established, although a distant relationship is almost guaranteed by the frequent intermarriage of high-ranking Spanish families (cf. Syme's theory of a possible link through the Dasumii of Cordoba (JRS 43 (1953) 155). Carcopino has suggested that Hadrian was related to Marcus by an earlier marriage of Matidia, the niece of Trajan (and mother of Hadrian's wife Sabina) to Rupilius Bonus. Then Rupilia Faustina, Marcus' grand-

mother, would be half-sister to Sabina (Carcopino, REA 51 (1949) 317; cf. Birley's stemmata from Marcus Aurelius, p. 152).

The meaning "on account of his family connections," on the other hand, is very easy to substantiate. Marcus was the grandson of the influential Annius Verus (Dio 69.21.1, see note, p.156). He was somehow related to Catilius Severus, another important contemporary of Hadrian (Dio 69.21.1, see note, pp.157-158). His sister had married into the family of Ummidius Quadratus (H.A. Marcus 7.4). The accompanying stemmata for Marcus make it clear that his family connections in general were very impressive.

21.2 ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Οὐηρίσσιμον ἀπεκάλει Cf. H.A. Marcus 1.10; ab Hadriano Annius Verissimus vocatus est; ibid. 4.1. Perhaps Dio's transcription of the work into Greek was meant to indicate that the word was actually used as a proper name. It appears as Βηρίσιμος on coins from Pitane and Tyre issued under Antoninus (cf. PIR² A 697) and in an inscription of a collegium at Ostia, which, among other statues honoring the imperial house, raised three of Verissimus Caesar, who is clearly Marcus (AE, 1940, 62, dated between 143 and 154).

22 The Death of Hadrian

Summary: When magic did not cure him, Hadrian longed for death and tried to commit suicide, but no one would cooperate. He suffered on account of his illness and his powerlessness, since he could not end his own life although he could still kill others. He finally brought about his death by abandoning his controlled diet, abusing his doctors

for killing him.

For Hadrian's final illness and his suicide attempts, see note, 69.17.1.

22.2 μετεπέμψατο Μάστορα ἄνδρα βάρβαρον Ἰάξυγα The Iazyges were the Sarmatian people living in the area of Pannonia, where Hadrian had been in 95 as tribune of the legio II Adiutrix, in 107/108 as legatus (note 69.1.1, p. 12) and in 118 in connection with the war with the Sarmatians (see note, 69.2.1, p. 33). If he acquired Mastor as a personal slave at one of these times, the man would have had a close association with Hadrian for at least twenty years.

22.4 καίτοι τοὺς ἄλλους ἔτι καὶ τότε δυνάμενος The phrase implies that Hadrian actually said this, if he did not do it. According to H.A. Hadrian 25.8, he was threatening to kill many at the time of his death, but Antoninus saved them.

22.4 τῆς τε ἀκριβείας τῆς κατὰ τὴν δίαιταν ἀπέσχετο Roman and Greek medicine depended largely on supervised diet and mode of life. At sometime during Hadrian's illness he wrote an abusive letter attacking doctors as ignorant since they could not cure his disease (cf. Epiphanius, περὶ μέτρων 14, Migne, Patr. Gr. 43, 260). The popular saying that Hadrian quoted, that he had been killed by a crowd of doctors, also appears in Pliny, NH 29.1, as the epitaph of an ordinary citizen.

23 Dio's Analysis of Hadrian's Reign

Summary: Hadrian lived sixty-two years, ruled nearly twenty-one years and was buried in the mausoleum he had built by the Aelian bridge. Although he ruled well otherwise, he was hated on account of the murders at the beginning and end of his reign.

23.1 ἔζησε δὲ From January 24, 76 (H.A. Hadrian 1-3) to July 10, 138 (H.A. Hadrian 25.6); 62 years, 5 months, and counting January 24, again, seventeen days (Dio says nineteen days).

23.1 καὶ ἐμονάρχησεν From August 11, 117 (dies imperii, Smallwood no. 117, Tibur) to July 10, 139, twenty years, ten months, twenty-nine days.

23.1 ἐτάφη δὲ πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ ποταμῷ Cf. H.A. Hadrian 19.11, fecit et sui nominis pontem et sepulchrum iuxta Tiberim et aedem Bonae Deae. Hadrian was originally buried near Baiae, where he died, in the villa, of Cicero at Puteoli after a private ceremony (H.A. Hadrian 25.7). His obsequies in Rome were conducted by the young Marcus (H.A. Marcus 6.1). His remains were later brought to Rome by Antoninus and laid to rest in the "gardens of Domitia"; hortis Domitiae (H.A. Antoninus 5.1), which perhaps refers to the location of the mausoleum. This was at last ready for use in the summer of 139 (the inscription to Hadrian and Sabina is dated by Antoninus' consulship: cos II design. III, Smallwood no. 124). Hadrian's mausoleum, under construction long before (brick-stamps of 123

have been found, cf. Pierce JRS 15 (1925) 83, n. 4), was therefore only finished by Antoninus Pius, c. 139. The bridge had been finished earlier, probably in 134. The mausoleum, now known as the Castel Sant' Angelo, was much changed for use as a fortress in the Middle Ages. It was originally a rather baroque structure, designed to give an airy effect despite its imposing size (for description and plans, cf. Pierce, JRS 15 (1925) 70-103) and plates; Nash, Pict. Dict. II, 44-48; D. Strong PBSR 21 (1953) 129-147). Hadrian's mausoleum eventually held the Antonines and their wives and children (cf. ILS 322, 346, 349-352, 369, 383-385, 401); according to Dio the Severi were also buried there (Dio 76(77).15.4; 78(79) 9.1, 24.3).

23.3 οὗτος ἐμισήθη ὑπὸ τοῦ δημοῦ Hadrian was not hated by 'the people', but by the Senate, who refused to deify him (see note 69.23.3). The two examples of Hadrian's mildness given here refer to men of senatorial rank, indicating that Dio actually has the Senate in mind. The hatred of the Senate was probably due to the threats made by Hadrian just before his death (cf. H.A. Hadrian 25.8). The Senate was practically autonomous in regard to the decision to confer consecration (cf. Pliny, NH 2.19; Charlesworth, HTR 28 (1935) 5-44). Another possible cause for Senate resentment may lie in the very mildness of the punishments of Hadrian; as Dio describes them, they would cause loss of face and embarrassment, without depriving the offending Senator of his position. There is confirmation that some of the common people, at least, were willing to defy Senate opposition to Hadrian's consecration. Hadrian had not yet been consecrated when the inscription in his mausoleum was

erected in the second half of 139 (Smallwood no. 124, dated by cos. II design. III for Antoninus). However, several inscriptions dedicated to Antoninus from mid-138 to mid-139 exist which call Hadrian divus. These were obviously put up by people who chose to follow Antoninus rather than the Senate; cf. ILS 332, Siponti, a dedication by the town, ILS 333, Rome; an inscription of a collegium; ILS 334, Ostia, thanks for baths begun by Hadrian; ILS 335, Puteoli, an inscription of a collegium.

23.3 ἀλλ' ἡ γερουσία ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀντέσχε Cf. H.A. Hadrian 27.1-3;

Victor, Caes. 14.12-14. The inscription in Hadrian's mausoleum, which names Sabina 'diva' but omits 'divus' for Hadrian, shows that in mid-139 the Senate had not yet acquiesced with Antoninus' insistence that Hadrian be consecrated (Smallwood no. 124). Antoninus nevertheless held to this position (H.A. Hadrian 27.3; Antoninus 2.5; 5.1; also cf. ILS 338, correspondence with Symrna dated to spring, 139; divi patris mei): the senate also wanted to nullify Hadrian's acta, which Antoninus, in his own interest, could not allow (H.A. Hadrian 27.2). It is impossible to date the Senate's acquiescence, for those who wished to please Antoninus used divus for Hadrian from his death (see above note). However, a laudatory inscription dedicated to Antoninus by the Senate (s.p.q.R.) in December 142 brusquely avoids all mention of the Emperor's divine forebears (the formulaic list which had long been accepted usage) (ILS 341, Rome). This seems to be a gesture of defiance and an indication that the Senate still wanted no part in Hadrian's deification.

23.3 αἰτιωμένη τινὰς τῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ πλεονασάντων For Cary's translation "those who had committed excesses" (Dio VIII, 465, Loeb), I would suggest "those who had gained excessive power". However, many incidents in the Vita confirm that Hadrian was the first to curb presumption (in regard to his amici, cf. H.A. Hadrian 11.3 (Septicius Clarus and Suetonius); also 15.2-9; his servants, H.A. Hadrian 21.3). Hadrian's prefects were outstanding for their simplicity and hard work (Dio 69.18-19). There is no evidence of a purge at the beginning of the reign of Antoninus Pius; on the contrary, many of Hadrian's appointees continued in their posts (cf. H.A. Antoninus 5.3; Pflaum's list of early provincial governors, H.A.-Colloquium Bonn 1963, 116-117). Perhaps the mysterious group who aroused the resentment of the Senate was the circle of Ceionii, Vetuleni, Avidii and Plautii which Pflaum postulates had supported Hadrian's adoption of Commodus (Aelius Caesar) (Pflaum, op. cit. 100-103, 110). Antoninus' evident preference for Marcus perhaps gave the Senate confidence to attack the coterie of supporters of Commodus' son Lucius.

23.4 ὁ Φάβιος Ἰούλιος This man is otherwise unknown. Perhaps he wished permission to commit suicide, see note, 69.8.3. It is supplemented from the Exc. Val. (300), where it follows the section on Turbo and Similis (Dio 69.18-19) and precedes 69.23.2-3 (Exc. Val. 301).

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